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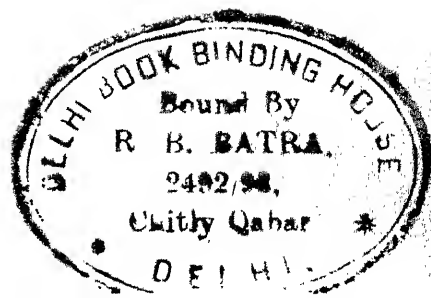
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# MAN in INDIA.

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological Science with special Reference to India.

Editor : RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L.

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Articles and Paragraphs for **Man in India** are invited from all parts of India and elsewhere. Contributors and correspondents are requested to write legibly and on one side of paper. It is desirable that articles meant for this Journal might be, as far as possible, type-written.

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SUICIDE AMONG THE ABORIGINALS OF BASTAR

*By Verrier Elwin*

THE BLOOD GROUPS OF THE DOMS

*By D. N. Majumdar*

SEASONAL SONGS OF PATNA DISTRICT

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THE ETHNOLOGY OF CENTRAL ASIA AND ITS  
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# MAN IN INDIA.

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## THE ALLEGORICAL APPLE.

By

DOROTHEA CHAPLIN, F. S. A., (Scot.)

Throughout the ages the *Apple* has appeared in a symbolic light. In Keltic mythology the *Apple Orchard* was the Land of the Ever-Young.

*Adam*, First Ancestor of the human races, apparently emerged from *Adami*, the First Man, whose consort is *Heva*. *Adami* is *Yama* of India, and *Yama* is god of Death, but also of Life. He is an *Aditya* or Shining One, a component part of the Sun. The Druidic ceremony of the Wassailing of the *Apple-trees* at Carhampton, in Somerset, takes place on the twelfth of January, in the same zodiacal month as that in which the festival of the saints *Adam and Eve* is held in some parts of the European continent. This feast is kept on Christmas Eve, (fifth January, Old Style) and the symbol of these saints is an *Apple*. According to an old legend, when Adam was dying he held a *Pip* of the *Apple* in his mouth, thus allegorically holding the essence of the New Life, the Son, who was to follow him.

The Druids taught their pupils that Man is made of *Eight parts*, the Judaic *Adam* was composed of *Eight Parts*; and Siva, third person of the Hindu

trinity, who comprises the whole universe, including Man also consists of *Eight Parts*!

Not many years ago a wall-painting was revealed in Westminster Abbey depicting St. Christopher carrying the Christ-child, and the Child has an *Apple* in His hand. The origin of St. Christopher is lost in the mists of antiquity; he was probably an allegorical figure of pre-Christian times. In regard to the *Apple* held by the Holy Child similar representations are to be seen on the European mainland.

Following an old custom *Apples* were given to the congregation on Boxing Day until quite recently in Ripon Cathedral. The cathedral, like Westminster Abbey, is dedicated to *St. Peter*. *St. Wilfred*, as Patron came later. *St. Peter* was certainly Keltic in his early British form; he was *Peder* or *Peredur*, son of *Alain*, *Ella* or *Ila*, the Earth Mother. I base this statement upon Hindu deifical genealogies, to which, on the whole, Keltic genealogies of this kind appear to correspond, but which have not been confused by the interception of a new religion (form of religion). *Peder* is manifestly *Pururavah*, son of *Ila*, who personifies the Upper Fire-stick in the Hindu sacrament of Fire. *Peder*, like *Pururavah* must have been a Son-god.

Keltic	Hindu
Manannan	Manu or Manan
Ala	Ila
Peder	Pururavah
Aife	Ayu

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There are more churches in England dedicated to *St. Nicholas* than to any other saint, and they are usually on ancient sites giving evidence of prehistoric origin. This saint is also much revered in Holland and Switzerland. The Three Balls of *St. Nicholas* were originally *Three Apples*. The legend about the Bags of Gold attaches to the Bishop of Myra, of whom singularly little is known. Obviously, this story has no connection with *St. Nicholas* in Keltic realms, who appears to correspond to Eochu, Eoghain, or Ewen, Priest-king at Tara, in Eire. Eochu appears to originate from *Kartikeya* of India, a form of the Sun-god, who "sprang from fire". I give explanations for any English readers who may not be familiar with these subjects.

*St. Nicholas* is *Patron Saint of Children*, and *Kartikeya*, in conjunction with his consort *Devasena*, is Guardian deity of *New-born Babies*.

<i>Keltic</i>	<i>Hindu</i>
Breas	Brihaspati
Eochu ( <i>St. Nicholas</i> )	<i>Kartikeya</i>
Kentigern	(numerous progeny)

In early times the *Apple* was the Sun-ball and according to an old English ballad, the children of King Arthur amused themselves playing with it in Carlisle, Cumberland. The Boy-god, Cuchulinn, also played with the Sun-ball, and Cuchulinn seems to be Peredur. The capital of Westmorland is the ancient town of *Appleby*, not very far from Carlisle. *Appleby* is the Borough (Sanskrit, *Pura*) of the *Apple*! *Apple-cröss*, Ross-shire, Scotland, is near *Loch Maree*, and



in a very old neighbourhood, full of relics of a pre-historic age. The ceremony of the Sun-circuit, or Way of the Sun, was performed round this loch. The *Car Deisal*, as it is called in Gaelic, is an Indian custom, and is also observed by some American Indian tribes. It would be interesting to know whether this rite was performed round *Lake Maree*, near Champa, in India, a region which is so full of legendary lore.

The *Apple*, so closely connected with *Wilhelm Tell* of Switzerland, must have had an allegorical significance long before the legend took on historical form.

*Tell* is a mythic character, and so is *William of Cloudeslee*,<sup>1</sup> of whom *Tell* is the Swiss counterpart. *Cloudeslee*, like *Tell*, appears in a historic light. His wife, *Alice*, stayed in *Carlisle* with their three children while he and his merry band of outlaws, lived in the Forest of *Englewood*, near this fortified city.

But the famous archer got into trouble, and was obliged to seek pardon from the king. For this purpose he went to *London*, taking with him his eldest little son. It was during this visit that *William of Cloudeslee*, like *Wilhelm Tell*, shot an arrow through an *Apple* placed on the head of his child, but in the case of the English *William* it was at his own suggestion. There is a similar tale in *Braemar*, and also a Norwegian version which was probably passed on from *Scotland*. The name *William* or *Wilhelm* is thought to mean a *Hero*!

*Tell* of Switzerland is first mentioned as a historical character in the *White Book of Sarnen*. In earlier

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<sup>1</sup> See "*Hero myths and legends of the British Race*", by M. I. Ibbuth, (Harrap, 1916).

legends he may be recognized as Tocco. This name, apparently, was Swiss, and the name *Tell*, allegorical. The *White Book of Sarnen* is a twelfth century record, but probably, like so many others of its kind, it contains subject-matter very much older. It is obvious from stories relating to him that *Tell* was mythological. In a tale called "Le Dragon",<sup>2</sup> of which there may have been a pre-Christian version, a terrible monster ravages the country, and kills Tocco. St. George appears upon the scene and destroys the dragon, whereupon Tocco and another Swiss hero come to life again! It is recorded of Tocco that he was a Hunter who shot an arrow through an *Apple* placed on the head of his small son, at a distance of a hundred steps. In the dim and distant past the Three Children of Cloudelee, living in Carlisle ("the Rampart of the god Lugus"), Lugus may have been the Trinity, or Human Family, and the eldest son, in the ulterior background, may have been the first person of the Hindu trinity, the Son, Brahmâ, the Creator, who becomes the grandsire of the Universe.

Tocco gave his name to Tuggen, in Canton Schwytz, formerly called *Tucconia*; also to *Toggenberg*, in the Canton of St. Gallen, on which probably he had a shrine. Tocco is described as having a complexion *the colour of Earth*, a most unusual description for a hero! But there seem to be an allegorical significance behind it. The name *Tell* may be derived from the same source as the Gaelic word *Tala* (Earth). In *The New Road* Neil Munro refers to *McTala*; he writes:—"Glen Coe was loud with running waters falling down

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<sup>2</sup> In "*Contes et Légendes de la Suisse Héroïque*".

the gashes of the bens, the curlews whistling, and the echoes of *McTala*, son of Earth, who taunts". *Maggo Tal* forms part of an inscription on an antique stone at Aboyne, on Deeside, Aberdeenshire, and the words are interpreted by Mr. F. Diack of Aberdeen as *MacTal*.

Who is the *Black-faced* personage who appears in processions in various countries? A figure with a *Black Face* takes part in the Furry Dance at Helston, in Cornwall. *St. Michael* is Patron Saint of this town, and he is manifestly *Micheil* of the Kelts and Eskimos, who is *Makal* or *Mahakala* of India. In England he wears Scaled Armour, and like St. George, is a Dragon in human form. The female form of *Mahakala* is *Mahakali* or *Kali*, and in all probability, it is she who is represented in the Furry Dance. She is probably also the ancestor of the *Black Madonna* at Einsiedeln, in Switzerland. This Convent of Our Lady with the Black Countenance is Benedictine, which is one of the oldest of the monastic Orders in Christendom.

When the Dragon was terrorizing the country the nuns of Einsiedeln fled, according to the Christian version, and they carried with them the statue of the *Black Madonna*.

Tocco or *Tell*, in mythological garb, appears to be the son of *Kali* (Mother Earth), hence his complexion! The *Black Madonna*, in an earlier religion, may have been a representation of *Kali*, one of the Ten Manifestations (*Mahavidyas*) of the Great Mother of the Universe; *Kali* or *Cali* gave her name to *Calcutta*. She is Goddess of Night, and is worshipped at Mid-

night. This deity is both terrible and beautiful according to which particular Force of Nature she is representing. Tell is surely the son of Mother Earth in this form? The chapel on the banks of Lake Lucerne, dedicated to *Wilhelm Tell* proves that he was more than a historical hero, and it is likely that it stands on the site of a shrine to a prehistoric and allegorical *Tell*. *Wilhelm* is *Tala*, son of the *Earth Mother*, and probably so was *William* of Englewood in mythic times, and the son of *Tell*, the *Apfelberg*, in the Canton of St. Gallen may be mythologically related. Both *Tell* and *William* of Cloudeeslee are associated with the *Apple* as typifying the Fruits of the Earth, human and otherwise. In the hands of a hunter the *Apple* becomes a target connected with the Seed or *Son* of *Tala*, son of *Mother Earth*.

The Benedictine monastery of St. Gallen, with its famous Library, exercised great influence over the region surrounding it, and apparently is the oldest of all the monasteries of Switzerland and Southern Germany. This monastic institution may have been preceded by a settlement of pre-Christian monks, like the ecclesiastical settlement at Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, Scotland.

The French word *Pomme* (Apple) and the German word *Granatapfel* (Pomegranate) seem to unite symbolically the *Apple* and the *Pomegranate*, the latter such a striking instance of Indian symbolism. The words *Pomme*, *Pomegranate*, *Granatapfel*, *Apfel*, *Ap Huill* (Welsh), *Apollo* and *Rhyppum* (the old name for Ripon), when viewed together, as also *Pol* (French), *Paul*, *Phal*, *Fal* (a Keltic deity) and *Fillan* show the

Western European association with *Phala*, the Seed, of India. That this Sanskrit word, and not the corresponding Greek word is the original is proved by the contrasting Sanskrit *A-phala*, meaning "barren" or "sterile". The *Seed* is both mental and physical, human and non-human, and the *Soil* or *Field* is the *Earth Mother*. The Scottish clan McGillivray derives its name from Brigit or *Brité* (*Bharati*) whose festal day occurs in the same zodiacal month (January-February) as that in which the Feast of Sarasvati is held in India, and *Bharati* is contained in *Sarasvati*. The Hindu month *Magha* covers the time which intervenes between about the twentieth of January, and the twentieth of February of European time. In pre-Christian days the festival of Brigit was regulated by the Moon, like that of *Sarasvati* and *Lakshmi* in India. The heirs to the chieftainship of the *Clan McGillivray* are designated the *Soil* (*Seed*) of *Gillebrigde*. Possibly there is a little confusion here, the heirs properly constitute the *Seed*, and *Brité*, herself, the *Soil*.

Bride or *Brité* comes across the sea, and as she is *Danu*, her followers may have been *Dánavas*? In Scotland Bride is greeted on the sea-shore. In some places on St. Bride's Eve, a woman stands at the door and cries out:—"Bride, come thou in, thy bed is made. Preserve the house for the trinity", (the ideal aspect of the *Family*). The *Dandelion*, because it contains a *Milky* substance, is associated with Bride. This goddess is connected with the people of the *Sidh*, who live in *Elf-mounds*. They are the *Fairy* people. Highland fairies come always from the *West*, where

was situated the terrestrial Paradise of the Kelts. There are many signs that this was the *Paradesha* of the Hindus. The Kelts, under another name, seem to have made their way from India, at a very remote period, passing over the land passage between Asia and America, which is now covered by the waters of the Behring Straits.

*Frech*, of the Kelts, was of Fairy origin. His mother was Be Find, a Fairy woman, and a form of Brigit or Bride. Frech was loved by Findabair, daughter of King Aillil and Queen Meave. *Idad*, a Pict, was Frech's father. The Picts worshipped *Dis Pater*, their Sky-god, or Heaven Father, who must surely be identical with *Dyus Pitar*, Sky-god or Heaven Father of Hindu India? Frech afterwards became St. Fechin (St. Fillan). In mythological realms Frech went to gather *Apples* on an islet in Loch Awe, Argyllshire, which is called the Island of Froach. These *Apples* were guarded by a Serpent, who may have had an ulterior connection with the Serpent who is Guardian of the Tree of Life. Frech wished to obtain the fruit for his lady-love, but he was slain by the monster, whom he also slew.

*King Arthur* of Britain wore the emblem of the *Serpent* or Dragon on his helmet, as did also his father Uthr Pendragon. As King of Hades, Uthr is known in Wales under the name of *Arawm*; this may be a corruption of *Aryama*, a name for *Yama*. It is re-

corded of Arthur that "the similitude of two serpents was on his sword in gold". Arthur possessed a mantle made of "diapered satin" which had "an apple of ruddy gold at each corner thereof". This famous king was "crowned in the cathedral of London", that of *St. Paul*, or on the site of it on which there may have been a temple to *Phal* or *Fal*, the Seed or Fructifier !

(*The Ladies Caledonian Club*,)  
*Edinburgh, Scotland.*

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## II. THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE AMONG THE ABORIGINALS OF THE MAIKAL HILLS

By  
VERRIER ELWIN

In order to discover the truth about the duration of marriage among the tribesmen of the Maikal Hills (at the east of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces) I recently made an examination of fifty households in a typical Gond and Pardhan village, Patan, in the Mandla District. I have lived now with my colleague, Mr. Hivale (to whose assistance I am greatly indebted) in this village for the past four years and have been acquainted with many of its inhabitants for the past ten years. It was thus not difficult to get full details about the domestic life of every one of the inhabitants.

Patan is a very beautiful place and people like living there. The inhabitants are interesting and there is always something going on. There is every inducement to a wife to remain in Patan. It is the sort of place where you would expect marriages to be happy. The proportion of divorced couples is thus likely to be lower and the incidence of polygamy likely to be higher than elsewhere. But on the whole Patan may be taken as a typical village of these hills.

As a result of my enquiry into the domestic affairs of these fifty households, I found that no fewer than 27 husbands were living with the same woman to whom they were originally married, while 23 had been divorced one or more times. The total number of domestic crises in these fifty households amounted



to 78 that is to say, there had been 78 divorces among them, but as most of the women involved in such divorces had themselves previously or afterwards divorced their original husbands, at least 150 separations between husband and wife must have been involved.

Twenty-three of the households were monogamous. In seventeen others the husband had made a single attempt at a polygamous household. In six more cases he made two attempts to keep two wives at a time. I will tabulate my results as follows :

Details	Percentage
Husband living with original wife	54
Husband living with original, plus co-wife	34
Husband living with 2nd 'wife'	8
Husband living with 3rd 'wife'	6
Husband living with 4th or other wife	6
Total number of households, the head of which is living with someone other than the original partner	46
Monogamous households	46
Households where polygamy has been attempted in some form	54
Households where 3 wives have been kept at once	8
Households where more than once a wife has been married by full rites	16

In view of the facts revealed by this table I do not think that the much abused word "common" is

wrongly used to describe either divorce or polygamy in Patan. The polygamy of Patan as a matter of fact has accounted for a considerable percentage of the divorce.

What then is the 'divorce-situation' among these tribesmen? Tribal society recognises the right both of men and women to change their partners and does not condemn it: in fact most of the leaders of Gond, Pardhan and Baiga society are notorious for their domestic enterprise. They ignore the marriage sections of the Indian Penal Code, provided whoever re-marries a separated woman keeps the rules and pays the necessary compensation.

It is very rare that a formal ceremony of divorce occurs. There is a ceremony: it was performed in Patan in 1939. It is not unknown among the Gonds and Baigas everywhere. But it is rarely necessary. Out of 78 separations in Patan it has only once been performed.

The ceremony of divorce is performed when the new husband comes face to face with the old one. A panch is formed, and the new husband brings five rupees for the panch and whatever compensation for the old husband has been agreed. The two rivals stand opposite one another, the old husband facing the sunset and the new husband the sunrise. Each takes a bit of grass in his hands and breaks it. The old husband smashes an earthen pot—or, if he is economically minded, a bit of a broken pot—and spits on it. The new man says, 'You have spat: dont come and try to lick it up'. Then they embrace and the woman is handed over to her new husband without

ill-feeling. Sometimes the old husband refuses to accept any money for his wife : in that case, the new husband has to go under his raised leg.

Such a ceremony can only take place where there is no passionate attachment and a change of partners is desirable for family or economic reasons.

The normal mechanism of divorce is this : the wife runs away or is driven out. She returns to her home and, after some time, goes to live with another man. He may marry her by *haldi-pāni* rites. The original husband then goes to him and demands compensation. This varies from anything from ten to a hundred rupees and depends on three things, the original bride-price paid to the woman's parents or to her former husband, the amount spent on the marriage ceremony, and the number of times the woman has changed her partner previously. A woman who has been divorced three or four times has a much lower marriage price than one who has only been divorced once—the reason being not so much that she has lowered her credit, but that she is not a safe investment. If she has changed her mind four times, she may easily change it again.

The paying of the compensation really effects divorce. Until that is done, the original husband always has a claim on his *māl* or property. Very often the new partner tries to avoid paying any compensation. This is a constant source of quarrels, especially among the Gonds and Pardhans, and the more enterprising tribesmen take their cause to the Courts. Section 497 of the I. P. C, which penalises

adultery and Section 498 which penalises enticement are constantly used most improperly to force a rival into paying the marriage-price. Occasionally a man takes his supplanter to court from wounded pride, or jealousy, or to force him to return the woman. But in the majority of cases, before going to Court, the husband goes to his supplanter and demands the compensation, thereby admitting that he agrees to the divorce, and automatically putting himself beyond the range of the support of the Indian Penal Code.

What are the reasons for these continual domestic upheavals, for seventy-eight divorces in fifty households is a very high proportion ?

We must not forget, of course, that this high figure is partly gained through a small group of people who are unable to settle down or whom no wife can tolerate. Patari Gond, for example, is a charming man and no fewer than seven women have been sufficiently attracted by him to go and share his life. But the work in his house—which is the richest and most enterprising in Patan—is so heavy that no woman can stand it and they all leave after a time. ‘The pots and the baskets are so heavy that we can’t lift them up’, as one of his former wives explained. Others like Dewan, a Gond, and Buddhu, a Pardhan, cannot make up their minds : beauty draws them with a single hair and they go distracted from one charmer to another. But leaving aside these sexual athletes, there is still a high percentage of people who are not living with their original or official partners. Why is this ?

The first and most obvious reason is that the marriage has proved unfruitful. ‘Unless hair comes

out of the vagina, no woman will stay with her husband.' His seed has gone bad, he is bewitched, he is 'sowing his seed in someone else's field', and the woman, unwilling to bear the reproach of barrenness, goes to find a more potent partner. On the other hand, a man may turn out a wife who always miscarries; 'she is a mare who throws her young'. Even a woman with a *bhalua koti*, a "bear's womb", that gives birth to ugly or deformed children, may be driven out.

Another obvious cause for separation is the husband's experiment in polygamy. 23 (or about 20%) of the separations in Patan were due to this. Dani Pardhan was living happily with his two wives till Singaro came as a third and turned them both out. They could not endure his exclusive attachment to her: 'he seemed to think she was a mirror, for he was always looking in her face. He made her sleep in his bed all day long and spent his time massaging her'. So too Dhanuwa tried twice to keep younger wives in his house, but his 'official' wife succeeded in turning them out. Basor's wife brought him her own younger sister, but the result was endless quarrels, for he was in love with the elder and the younger was in love with him. He declared that he would commit suicide and went and hid two days in the fields: the younger girl ran away.

Phulmat, the Baiga woman magician, was junior wife to Garhu and got on very well till she had a son. Then her co-wife was jealous and drove her out.<sup>1</sup> Lahakat the Baiga had three wives, but he neglected

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<sup>1</sup> See my *The Baiga*, p. 137.

the eldest and she ran away.<sup>2</sup> There are few who can say with Yogi Dewar, 'In all I married six girls. They lived together very happily. Every day I used to go to each of them, so they had nothing to grumble about'.<sup>3</sup>

A wife's disobedience often causes a husband to drive her out, just as a husband's attempt to discipline his wife may induce her to run away from him. 'She would'nt remain beneath the goad', said a Gond, when asked why he had turned out his wife. Another sent his wife away because she came in very late one night from the Karma dance, another because she always ate before her husband, thus 'turning everything into leavings'. Ballu Pardhan's first wife was older than he and 'black as an umbrella'. That he did not mind, but she smoked all day and refused to work. So he turned her out. Dasu's third wife was a *saragraseni*, a 'ladder to heaven' she was so tall, 'soft-handed and ugly'. That again did not matter, but she always did the opposite of what he told her, and so she had to go.

But if husbands resent their wives' disobedience, the wives equally object to the attempts of their husbands to discipline them. 'Does any wife run away unless she is beaten' ? Baihar, the Baiga woman, left her husband because he beat her when he caught her with a lover<sup>4</sup>. So did Hironda<sup>5</sup>. So did Baisakin, deserting Bukwa the landlord without hesitation

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 148.

because 'he didn't give her proper food and abused and beat her'<sup>6</sup>. A husband's neglect is even more fruitful of separation. A wife sometimes takes a beating as a sign of love, but neglect cannot be forgiven. 'If he does'nt even raise his eyes to the girl, why should she not leave him'? Pahilad married an unusually beautiful girl, but did not pay her enough attention and so she left him. Haricharan, a very handsome Pardhan youth, was so occupied with several love-affairs that he could not spend enough time with his young wife even during the first month of their marriage, and so she married someone else.

If a girl is suspected of being a witch, it is taken as a ground for divorce. In a Pardhan household, the grandparents made up their minds that their daughter-in-law had 'sin in her belly' and they made things so unpleasant for her that she ran away.

It is always important, of course, for a wife to get on well with her husband's relations or with her co-wife. The older wife may secretly put salt or chili into the food the younger one has cooked, and then make an outcry about her carelessness. If the girl is not pleasant to her mother-in-law the latter has a score of ways to make life unpleasant for her. On the other hand, a girl must not favour her own relations too much. Of one Pardhan girl it was said that 'she sucked her husband like a mango' and was always taking things out of his house and giving them to her mother.

Tribal society entirely approves a husband's action in sending away an idle wife. On a farm, laziness is

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 167.

the worst of sins. On the other hand, a hard-working wife is forgiven many faults. She need not be beautiful if she is industrious. 'Am I to drink her beauty? Can I wash her ugliness? What does a homely face matter? Her nature is good'. Dasu's second wife was very lazy: he was in love with her and willing to forgive her even that, but he thought that she should take at least a little trouble to please him. He used to tell her, 'I don't mind your not working. I can do the work myself. But at least keep your hair tidy and please my eyes'. When he found she would do neither, he let her go.

Aesthetic considerations are not of primary importance, but they have their effect. 'Body odour' is disliked by the tribesmen just as much as by the modern Americans. I know of several cases where men have been completely 'put off' girls by their dirt and evil smell. It is said of a Gond woman in Patan that 'she has quarrelled with water and never washes'. She is called Rahata and Jhalawala, for her hair hangs matted over her face. People do not like to sit near her or eat in her house.

The duration of marriage depends to some extent on whether the marriage was based on love or was arranged by the parents. The Gonds tend to arrange their children's marriages for them: Baigas and Pardhans tend, on the whole, to marry from choice—except, of course, where they are married young for economic reasons. It is not uncommon, however, in all the tribes for marriage to be purely conventional. Perhaps the parents have kept a Lamsena boy in the house; perhaps the families had a long-standing



agreement; perhaps it was a case of *dudh-lautāna*. But whatever happens the marriage must be performed. It is the great moment in one's life and it should be done at home. For a girl it may not mean the beginning of a life-long partnership: it may simply be the opening of the door to romance. Once marriage has made a respectable woman of her, she begins her erotic life in earnest and sooner or later elopes with her real lover.

I have known it happen again and again: a girl allows herself to get married to please her parents, and to give herself credit and position, and she runs away within a week to the man she wants to live with. The wisest parents admit that no forced marriage is ever successful. Buddhia Pardhan was forced by her parents to marry an elderly man: she stayed with him four months, then came on a visit to her mother's house, and refused to go back to him. Dasu Pardhan was also forced to marry: he disliked the girl and protested vigorously—after the ceremony he washed the turmeric off his body and soon drove her out<sup>7</sup>. 'Marriage by capture' is said to be equally unsuccessful: the girl enjoys the experience of being captured, but she runs away after a time.

The husband generally shows little curiosity about his wife's former lovers and there is no idea that a girl should be a virgin at marriage. But if she is found to be pregnant immediately afterwards, it often wrecks the partnership.

Impotence in the man, syphilis in the woman, sometimes causes separation. Leprosy, however, does

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<sup>7</sup> See, for further examples, *The Baiga*, p. 251.

not, and I have seen beautiful and moving examples of a wife's devotion to a leprous husband.

Adultery and the desire for a lover is not so common a cause of separation as might be expected. Both men and women are remarkably devoid of jealousy. Both have many opportunities for secret love-affairs. There is no reason therefore to break up the home for the sake of romance which is already at the door.

But not everybody is free from jealousy and suspicion. 'If my husband sees me sitting on a stone', complained a Gond woman, 'he accuses me of flirting with it'. Several Pardhan youths follow their wives everywhere, specially to the bazaars. A girl with large breasts is said by the Baigas to 'belong to many men', and her husband has to guard her well, 'A Pardhan epitomised the reasons for divorce in the words—'*Karma, dadāria, māndi, chalān, moha, dhong*'. He explained himself thus—'He sees her singing Karma with other men and gets anxious: he hears her voice in the Dadaria songs in the hills and gets jealous; she visits houses where young men are; she is deceitful; she gets a lust for someone else; she is always pretending that she cant do this or that. Her head aches, she cant weed in the rice-field, she has a thorn in her foot, she cant go for water'.

Another Pardhan pointed out that even the happiest marriages could be ruined by two things—a love-charm and a go-between or pandar. 'A pandar could ruin the marriage even of a King'.

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### III. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SOCIAL-POLITY.

By

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Dr. Phil (*Hamburg*).

*Synopsis.*

#### Ch. I. *Epochs in Indian History.*

History of India should be divided into different epochs. Evolution of the society and status of the castes should be evaluated according to the economic and political condition of the state. Hence, Indian history should be divided into such epochs as Vedic, post-Vedic, Maurya, Brahmanical reaction under the Sungas, Gupta etc.

#### Ch. II. *Historical Parallels.*

In order to understand the social organization of India, we must compare the social condition of the Classical countries and the Mediaeval countries of Europe. Hence a short review of the anthropological back-ground and social evolution of the following countries is made: Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, Persia, Greece, Rome, the Celts and mediaeval Europe (Germany and England).

#### Ch. III. *Origin of the Indo-Aryans.*

Pan-Germanic theory of the Nordic origin of the Indo-Aryans is discussed. Latest theories about the origin of the Indo-Europeans and the people of Mahenjo-daro are discussed.

Ch. IV. *Racial Elements in Caste.*

In this chapter it is discussed that 'caste' has got no racial basis.

Ch. V. *Caste an occupational grouping.*

Social classes originally not hereditary. Originally they were professional groupings. Later occupations multiplied. This gave rise to various subdivisions.

Ch. VI. *Indian Trade-guilds.*

Ch. VII. *The Varnas in different epochs.*

The condition of the Varnas (castes) in different epochs of the history is traced.

Ch. VIII. *Purification and Taboo.*

Principle characteristic is *achara* which may be called as notions about purification and prohibitions. The prohibitions are the 'taboos' of the Hindu society. A short enquiry into the condition of the societies of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Palestine, Greece and Rome, modern undeveloped Races is made here. The condition of the Hindus and the Buddhists are discussed.

Ch. IX. *Untouchability in Hindu Society.*

Taboo i. e. notions about purification and prohibitions are to be traced from the Hindu scriptures. These are of Indo-Aryan origin.

Ch. X. *Social attitudes of the Varnas to each other.*

A Hindu is contented with his birth and position of life. Social hierarchy is regarded as God ordained. A man's lot is the creation of his Karma. The Smritis attempted a collaboration of all the Varnas on the basis of this doctrine. But domination of the Brahmin Varna in society is in force.

Ch. XI. *Who are the Sudras.*

Anthropological and historical origins are discussed.  
A Sudrahood is a socio-political status.

Ch. XII. *Intermarriages amongst the different  
Varnas.*

Intermarriages existed till 10th century A. D.  
Exogamous marriage still exists in the Himalayan  
Hills.

Ch. XIII. *Caste-system in present-day India.*

Present-day working of Brahmanical Varna-polity  
discussed.

Ch. XIV. *Ancient authoritative Hindu Law.*

Origin of Hindu Law discussed. Authoritative  
character of Arthasastra, Dharmasastra and custom  
is discussed.

Ch. XV. *Conclusions.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### Epochs in Indian History.

In order to enquire into the origin of the Indian caste-system we will have to go into the roots of its genesis, growth and condition in different epochs of the Indian history. Various attempts have been made to find out the root cause of the system, or the phenomena that have led to the evolution of this institution in India. And various theories have been advanced as the solution to this social phenomenon. But a single formula cannot be regarded as the key to the solution of the whole problem.

The Indian caste-system is a big complex composed of various factors. Races and invasions, institutions and governments of different epochs of the history of India have left their marks on the society. Hence, there cannot be a single solution of this social problem. The whole complex has got to be analysed and dissected in parts, and then the characteristics should be explained.

In order to find out the genesis of the Indian caste-system, it has got to be studied by dividing the history of India into different epochs, and then we will have to find out the condition of the institution of caste in the environment of the particular epoch in question. So far, it has been in vogue to take up the question apart from its environments and study it, as if it is a permanent and static phenomenon ! But the Indian society has not been a static one ; hence we cannot discover *Sanatan-Dharma* in a socio-economic institution like the caste-system.

The period of the civilization of the Indian people is a long one. Beginning with pre-historic Indus Valley civilization, and continuing to 2000/1700-1500 B. C. the date fixed by some Indologists as the period of the oldest parts of the Vedas when the chief of the tribal state combined the functions of a king, a judge and a priest in his own person, to the Court of Janaka at Videha, where the Brahmin men and women discoursed on philosophy and religion, to the Buddhist councils some of which were held under the auspices of the Buddhist Kings, to present-day cultural activities, the history of India is divided into many epochs. And all institutions of the country have got to be studied as parts of the political complex of the epoch in question. Hence to pick up anything at random from the big cauldron of the Indian history which has been boiling, melting and shaping various institutions in these long ages and to say this is the thing in its proper form is to hit outside the mark.

### **Different epochs in Indian History.**

On this account, in order to find out the origin of the caste-system we should divide the Indian history into such epochs as the Vedic age (The Mahenjo-daro period is left out of the list of epochs as its relation with the Vedic people, is not yet clear and is regarded as outside the historical period) ending with the Aranyaka period of the Vedas, the post-Vedic age till the rise of the Maurya power, the Maurya age till the establishment of the Brahmanical political power of the Sungas and the Kanvas etc. Then we will have to make microscopic examinations of the ethnic, sociological, political environments in which the insti-

tution known as the caste-system is situated. Then we can appraise the origin and growth of the system in question.

As society is based on economic factors, and political power gives a shape to it, it cannot be understood how, the growth of an institution like the caste-system can be regarded as arising out of the fiat of an interested priest-craft or the "mana" of some superstitious peoples or some other devices ! Hence, economic causes leading to its political expressions have to be discovered in order to find out the roots of the system.

In our enquiry, we are confronted by a mighty array of Sanskrit books written by the Brahmins which so long have been regarded as the sole guide to this problem. But with the discovery of the Buddhist and Jaina literatures, it has been found out that there is another version of the question which does not agree with the Brahmanical one. It is now found out that the Brahmanical version of the Indian society is one sided and a sectional one, and comparing with the other literatures it has been found out that in many cases it does not conform to the actual condition existing in the society. For this reason, we must be careful in dogmatising a theory of Indian society by reading the texts containing the theories of the priesthood. Hence a historical perspective is necessary.

Here, before we start with our enquiry into the origin of the Indian caste-system, we must determine the definition of the term "caste". The sociologists say that when a class becomes incrustated by denying *connubium* and *commensality* with other classes, the class turns itself into a caste. The Indian castes are



mutually exclusive groups, practising endogamy and interdicting interdining with the persons of other castes. It has got also rules and regulations for the preservation of its own integrity. This is the present state of the Indian caste-system on which the Indian social fabric is based. It fits the definition of the sociologists. But the question is, "Has it always been so" ?

In order to find the ancient source of the system we should refer to the early sources whence the Indian traditions begin.

### **Early Indian traditions.**

The cultural history of the Indian people began with the Aryan-speaking people of the Vedas. So far, the Vedas are the oldest document of the Indian culture. The Rig-Veda does not speak of the Sudra except in the "Purusha Sukta" which is said by the Indologists to be a later interpolation. But the name is mentioned in the Jajur Veda, and the Aitereya Brahmana speaks of four varnas and the superiority of the priestly class of the Brahmins. From the Rig Veda down to the Brahmanas we find the evolution of different classes in the Indian society. Here we speak of "classes" because connubium and commensality were not interdicted in those days. Ludwig says, the caste system had its inception from the very beginning, but it seems Zimmer<sup>1</sup> is right when he points out that if the caste-system originated in the Indus Valley, then why the epics (vide the scolding of Karna to Salya in Mahabharata) were so hard on the

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<sup>1</sup> Zimmer—"Alt indisches Leben".

Vratyas who dwelt on the western side of the bank of the Indus and to the people of the land of five waters ?

Further, in the Vedas we do not find anything about the question of untouchability in the form that is extant in India to-day. Also the Vedas do not speak of the difference of *wergeld* of different classes\*.

Again, the Vedas speak of the class-disputes between Kshatriyas and Brahmins\*\*, each class arrogating to itself to be the superior to the other. Further, the Kshatriya king is seen to be acting as a fighter and a priest at the sametime, like the Greek and Roman Kings.

By glancing at the Vedic Literature one can clearly see that out of the *Vis* the common people, the Kshatriyas took their rise, and from the Kshatriyas the priestly class differentiated itself in its turn. When the functions of the husbandman and the agriculturist differentiated themselves from that of the fighter, then we find that the Kshatriya Varna as a separate one takes its rise. The same evolution took place in ancient Russia<sup>2</sup>; the *Rathastra* of Persia originated similarly. Latterly, we find that after much struggle the Kshatra (King) separating his priestly functions from his temporal functions. The same evolution took place in Grece and Rome. But the priestly class in ancient India originated from the Kshatriyas (vide the stories of Devapi and Viswamitra). Thus, as elsewhere,

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\* The only *wergeld* that *Rig Veda* spoke was of 100 cows and there was no caste differentiation in this matter as it was in later days.

\*\* Vide *Vedic Index*—vol I, pp. 202-205.

<sup>2</sup> Kluchevsky—"History of Russia".

from the original *publicum* (vis) of India, the lords temporal and spiritual have taken their rise. That there was no incrustation of the social classes is to be seen in the frequent intermarriages of the various classes, in the changing of social class in the case not only of Viswamitra and others but also in the case of the Brahma-Kshatriyas, in the elevation of the son of a Sudra woman Ailusa Kavasa to priesthood, in the elevation of a Sudra Janasruti to Kingship, and in the elevation of the Sudras to ministerial posts and affluent social positions etc. Again, we hear of a darkskinned Rishi named Kanva, also of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as Rishis who wrote hymns of the Vedas.

Thus, in all these facts where do we find the conflict of colour or race, and the divine ordination of the social hierarchy? Rather it seems that Senart and those who think like him are right that the caste-system in the form of social groupings or classes had its inception in the united Aryo-Iranian period of the history of the asiatic Indo-Europeans. The names of the three Persian upper classes nearly agree with those of the Indian ones. But the Sudra was absent in ancient Persia, instead we find the Vaisu (vis of Sanskrit?) as the lowest class. But the Vis from which the Vaishya has taken its rise was a *dwija* in ancient days. The Vaisya was originally a husbandman, then we find the degradation of the cultivating class.

### Question of Racial Origin.

Now comes the question of the Sudras. The European orientalist think that the Sudras are the original inhabitants of the soil, a dark-skinned people

whom the white-skinned conquerors enslaved. But it seems it is a hypothesis, which originated in the minds of the Germanic-speaking Indologists, who drew an analogy between the existing race-conflicts in South Africa and North America and those of ancient India. In this hypothesis, various suppositions have been made. Firstly, what proof is there that the original Indo-Aryans were white? True it is, the Vedas speak of the "Arya-Varna" and "Dasa-Varna", and the scriptures, of four Varnas typifying the four castes. Did the word "Varna" originally mean Skin-colour? In that case, we will have to accept the theory that the ancient people of the Punjab were composed of all the four races as differentiated by Blumenbach, viz. the White Race (Caucasian), the Red Race (American Aboriginal race), the Yellow Race (The Mongolian), the Black Race (the Negro). If the white-skinned Brahman belonged to the white Indo-European Race, and the black-skinned Sudra belonged to the black Negroid Race, then what about the red Kshatriya and yellow Vaishya castes? This interpretation is absurd on the face of it. Rather it seems\*, these are allegorical interpretations typifying different professions. The Hindu Scriptures say so. The priest typifies religious functions, hence as emblem of purity, he is described as white. The same is the case with the Angels of the Christian Heaven, Service is soiled, hence the servile Sudra is black etc.

But to prove the blond characteristics of the Vedic people, the Indologists bring out proofs that

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\* Compare the Scandinavian Eddas regarding the origin of different classes of the Germanic Society; also, vide Bluntschli—"*The Theory of State*".

the Vedic Gods were described as Whites<sup>3</sup>. In this matter, it seems, the same mistake has been made in the case of the Indian Gods, as has been made in the case of those of Greek and Romans, and Sergi's arguments can be applied in case of India as well. It is probable that these are allegorical Epithetaornantia, and these allegories cannot be taken as physical characteristics of the people of those days\*. Then what proof was there that the Vedic people were homogeneous. In Afghanistan, in South Persia and even in West Asia dark brown-skinned persons are to be met with\*\*. Further, as stated above, some of the Vedic Rishis were dark, and many of the Hindu heroes and heroines of the Epics were dark. Again, the scanty trace of any blond characteristics either in the Indian population or in the ancient literature, is of debatable origin.

### Fallacy of Nordicism.

Hence the European theory of a Nordic invasion from North Europe or some other northern region to India which coming in conflict with the dark aborigines has given rise to social stratification based on difference of skin-colour, is not only untenable but it is to be regarded as a pan-germanic myth. Again those who opine that according to the amount of Aryan blood that the hybrids have got within them, they have taken their ranks in

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<sup>3</sup> In the Satarudriya Litany of the White Jajur Veda the god Rudra is called as "golden-armed" (16. 1f), and god Sabita as "golden-handed" (1. 20, 34, 35).

\* The Atharva-Veda speaks of the black hair on a man's head (Bk. 137).

\*\* This is the writer's personal observation. As regards the presence of dark element amongst the Afghans and other Hindukush tribes vide B. S. Guha in *Census of India* 1931 vol. I, India Pt. III *Ethnographical* p. XIX.

the Indian social hierarchy and quote the instances of the mixed breeds of North America forget, that the heterozygotic elements arising out of the mixture of the whites and the blacks in North America do not form different social strata in the society. The full-blooded Negro, the Mulatto, the Quadroon, the Octoroon do not form the mutually exclusive endogamous social groups, rather all of them together form the "coloured" society which is of course excluded from the white society. The analogy with the American hybrids do not hold good, neither for the same reason does it hold good in the case of the hybrids between the Europeans and the Indians of the present-day.

Hence the analogy of the stratification of the Indian Castes with the heterozygotic persons of North America or elsewhere falls to the ground. Again, it has been shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that the data of Risley belie his own dictum that the status of a caste stands in inverse ratio with the amount of Aryan blood it has got. If the abovementioned analogy fails then Risley's dictum falls too. Moreover it has got no anthropological basis. Why the leptorrhinian Jat-sikhs stand in lower order than the Khetris, why the Lambadis a non-brahmin caste of South India are leptorrhinians and the Brahmins are mesorrhinians? Again why the Kanarese Pariahs are comparatively narrow-nosed than the Brahmans of the Madras city? The fact is that the status of a caste certainly does

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<sup>4</sup> B. N. Datta—"Das Indische Kasten System" in "*Anthropos*", Bd. XXI, 1927.

not stand in inverse ratio with his nasal index as asserted by Risley. Hence it is obvious that there is no racial basis of the Indian caste-system. The Indian Castes do not bear any analogy with the mixed breeds of any country. On the other hand, by making an analysis of some of the data of Risley's Castes, it has been shown in the aforementioned article of the writer that each caste has got elements of different characteristics within itself, and these elements are identical with those of other castes. That is, all the castes are mixed in their composition, and they do not represent different biotypes. Again in "Anthropological Notes on some West-Bengal Castes" and in "Anthropological Notes on some Assam Castes" it has been shown by the writer\* that there is no homogeneity amongst the castes of these provinces; the castes overlap one other in their racial compositions. Hence to talk of the purity of a caste is a misnomer, or to say that the more a caste has got "Aryan" blood within itself the higher is its status is not the truth.

### **Class-struggle in ancient India.**

But the difference of status and stratification with different rights and privileges lies in the force of class-conflicts that have raged in India from Vedic Age. If we are to seek an analogy of Indian Class stratification with elsewhere, we will have to find it in the Classical histories of Greece and Rome, and in the Mediaeval histories of Germany, France and England than with the Mulattoes and Quadroons of North

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\* B. N. Datta, in "*Man in India*" vol XIV, Nos. 3 and 4, 34; "*Anthropological Papers*" New Series No. 5, Calcutta University Press, 38.

America \*! Greece emerges in history with a feudalistic society though still in tribal state. Here we find the king holding the post of a tribal chief as well as that of a priest, below him are the feudal aristocrats, and still below are the 'Theta' in Athens or the 'Perikoi' in Sparta and the 'Helot' serfs, besides the slaves. It cannot be said that anthropologically they were different. Of course the Perikoi and the Helots were conquered peoples, and the status of each group, was determined by the gradation of political rights they enjoyed. The same was at the beginning of the Roman Empire, yet again, these groups formed one society like the Hindu one. The aristocratic Spartan, the subject Perikoi and the Helot Serf did not form one single community. But the aristocratic Athenian citizens, the business men and the poor citizens of Attica formed one single society. And in this society the status of each stratum was determined by its political status, which again was determined by its economic status\*. To any student of Greek history this is clear. Hence it is evident that economic status determines the social and political status. Then we find that after the abolition of Kingship in Greece, when the political power fell in the hands of the aristocrats, they kept the ruling power and priestly functions in their own hands. Such was the case in Rome. The more the society advanced towards the feudal incrustation, more the social differences and inequalities with their vexatious laws and restrictions

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\* The mixed breeds do not form castes in America.

\* The status accorded to each Athenian citizen according to his wealth during the period of Timocracy was a clear example of it.



fell heavily on the shoulders of the poorer classes. In the end marriage with equal footing was disallowed amongst the members of different classes. If Anuloma marriage could be allowed, Pratiloma marriage was a crime. The Roman patricians even went further, they said that inter-marriage with the Plebians will make their blood impure, so any offering from their hands by the gods will not be acceptable.\* Further the Roman patricians even asserted that gods will not take libations from the hands of the Plebians. It sounds like Manu's Manava-Dharma-Sashtra! Again the amount of wer-geld to be paid by the lower class became greater with the advance of the feudal age. Also, the disenfranchised people had to wear special badges to show their class-identities. Again in the Middle Ages Europe had to undergo a similar evolution. There were three estates everywhere, and in some places there were four estates. From the absolute king to the serfs and in many places to the slaves there were gradations of social and political rights and privileges. Yet they all belonged to the same white race. By scanning the history of Europe of ancient and Middle Ages it will be found that the conquest of one tribe by another has not always led to this differentiation. Rather in many places loss of economic means has led to political nullity, which has led further to social degradation. The same evolution has taken place in Russia after the age of Peter the Great. The large mass of disenfranchised serfs of Russia were once freed citizens and respectable men. Further, European Society in ancient and Middle

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\* Compare the prohibition of personal worship of *Narayan-Sila* or any god by a Sudra!

Ages was stratified and incrustated giving rise to the question of interdiction of connubium and possibly the question also of commensality. Commensality between the priests of several Gilds and laymen actually was broken off, in Germany\*. The excuse used to be given by the priests was that as they had to deal in church matters at the table, it was useless for the laymen to be present there, so they were excused from the table.

But everywhere, in ancient and modern Europe with the rise of the commercial and industrial classes, social rigidity began to break down. History says that with the rise of the Bourgeoisie and with the spread of the commercial and industrial Athenian Empire, when the political power fell in the hands of the merchant classes, social barriers began to break down. But Romans were never industrial, though the terrible "civil" wars between Sulla and Marius have been between the aristocracy and the middle class. Roman aristocrats kept up their exclusiveness down to the last days of the empire. For this reason, it may be possible that democratic-communistic Christianity became transformed into bureaucratic and hierarchical Roman Catholic Church.

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\* W. E. Wilda in his book entitled "*Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter*" says that in the "Kalendsbruederschaften" of the 14th century the wives of the Lay members were not allowed to take part in the common meals. In St. Johannis Kalandsgild of the same century the laymen had to sit in a separate table at the meal time, and new members with the help of another person had to serve at the table of the brother members. In the Nord-Strandarer Marienkalend the lay members had a separate table for their meals. The ground for this separation was that at the priestly table Holy lessons will be read and things to be cultivated which required silence and the matters of the priestly class will be discussed as well. pp. 358-360.

These are mentioned here to show that Race-theory, Colour-Distinction theory, Mana Theory etc. are not the answers to the question on the Origin of the Indian caste Complex. In India if the tribal Vedic period did not know any caste system, there was class system. Here one pertinent question has to be brought out that the Vedic India though it was in tribal condition, yet had emerged out of the tribal communistic stage, or did not have it at all. Maine's theory regarding this stage in the Vedas is now held to be untenable. By scanning the pages of the Vedas, we find that kingship was established, there was a group of fighters or armed retainers around the king, that in the end the priestly function was differentiated from the kingly function and out of the fighting class the priestly class had taken its rise, and that possibly a serf class (*sti* and *usti*) had also developed and finally the institution of private property had taken its rise. So the Vedic people were far away from the primordial tribal condition. At that time unlike the city state of Greece (which was also tribal in its basis), the vedic state was a tribal state. Hence in this condition we do not find incrustation of the classes into castes; neither did the question of food and touch taboo take its rise\*.

Here that famous saying of the Rigveda should be remembered when a Rishi says "I am a bard, my father a physician, my mother a stone grinder. Planning in various ways, desirous of wealth, we live following (others) like cattle, flow Soma, flow for Indra's

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\* Vide the Story of Brahman Vamadeva in the Veda who ate dog's meat at the place of a Chandala (an untouchable) in hunger.

sake''. (IX, 112-3). This stanza clearly gives the lie to the theory of the existence of the caste system from the very beginning or to the theory of racial basis of the same. Again, in the same casteless society a rich upper class was developed in the Rig Vedic age (Mahakula and Maghavan). Then also we find the Vaishyas forming guilds to protect themselves from the exactions of the Kshatriya ruler, as well as free Sudras who were engaged in agriculture and arts of lower sorts. Also we find slaves being mentioned.

But with the course of further development, we find the different classes fighting with each other. Each of the upper classes asserting its superiority over the others. The Rajanya asserted their superiority over all other castes (Taittiriya Samhita II, 5, 10, 1 etc.) In opposition, the Brahmin sometimes asserted his superiority over the Rajanya (Kshatriya) (Atharva Veda: V. 18, 19; Maitrayani Samhita IV 3, 8; Vajasaneyi Samhita XXI 21). There are references to occasional feuds between the people and the nobles: (Taittiriya Samhita ii. 2, 11, 2; Maitrayani Samhita III 3, 10; Kathaka Samhita XXIX 8, etc.). Again sometimes there was feud between Kshatriya and Brahmin: (A.V.V. 18—19; Taittiriya Samhita II 2, 11, 2; Maitrayani Samhita II 6, 5; II, 1, 9: and Kathaka Samhita XXIV 8 etc.)

At last we find a great struggle between the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins of which the Brahmanical version is given in the Ramayana \*, and the Kshatriya Version in the Jaina religious books, while

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\* The Jaina scriptures give a Version that is very opposite to the brahmanical one. vide Jaina "*Harivamsa*"; "*Subhama Charita*".

Pargiter<sup>1</sup> culls out another version from the Mahabharata. This is the fight which is known in mythology as the fight between the Brahman Vargava family led by Parasurama and the Kshatriya Haihayas led by Kirtivirjarjuna. According to Weber and Zimmer this fight took place between the latter part of the Vedas and the Epic Age. Weber thinks during this war between the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas, when kings like Pururabas, Nahusa tyrannized over the Brahmins and maltreated them, and when the Kshatriyas used to rob the women and cows of the Brahmins that "Brahmajaya Stotras," "Brahmagavi Stotra" and "Satarudriya Stotras" were written. The latter hymns were invoked to Rudra who was supposed to be omnipresent and omniscient. In this frightful war which lasted according to Pargiter for a hundred years the Brahmins were awfully handled and at last worsted<sup>2</sup> though, according to Zimmer<sup>3</sup> they gained at the end concessions from the ruling class. They were privileged to get respect, gift, inviolability and freedom from capital punishment.

These facts are referred to here to show that there was a big class-struggle before the Brahmins could monopolize priestly functions to themselves. Senart<sup>4</sup> refuses to see class-struggle in this fight as he says that there had been castes in ancient India and no classes. But with due deference to him, we beg to differ. It is clear to any one who

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Pargiter, op. cit. pp. 199-200, pp. 270-271.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmer, op. cit. p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> Senart, *"Caste in India"* p. 143.

has perused the ancient Indian records that there were classes and no castes in the period in question §. It was only by hard struggle that priests began to assert themselves and to form themselves as a separate hereditary social group.

Then comes the Buddhist Age. At this age we find the Kshatriyas asserting themselves as the first Varna. This was always asserted by Gautama Buddha. The Buddhist and Jain Literatures have expressed the views that the Kshatriyas were the first Varna then come the Brahmins. Fick <sup>5</sup> quotes from the Buddhist Literature the stories that the "king Arindama called a son of a priest as a man of low birth (kinajacca), and the king of Kosala while talking with his Brahmin employee used to put a screen as he would not see his face, while the Sakyas seeing a Brahmin entering their Mote Hall while they were sitting, fell on each other laughing and pushed him back with the finger and did not ask him to take a seat, \* Thus in these examples, we see the Kshatriyas' attitude towards the Brahmins.

Again, in the period of 500 B. C., we, for the first time, come across the word "Anarya" in Sanskrit Literature. It was Jaska in his "Nirukta and Nirghantu" who used the the word "Anarya" for

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§ Fick and Vincent Smith say that the Indian Varnas are not "castes", rather they are classes,

<sup>5</sup> R. Fick, "*The Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's Time*" Tr. by Maitra. pp. 83-87.

\* These cannot be called the influence of Mana or Magic, these are purely class-arrogance.

the 'Kikata' (the later Maghadha) country \*\*. Many Indologists <sup>1</sup> thereby say that the word "Anarya" stands for "Non-Aryan" people. But Weber <sup>2</sup> thinks the word stands for the heretical Buddhists as their forerunners, The Brahmins used that epithet for those who did not follow the Vedic rules or what they called the "Aryan Path". On the other hand, the Buddhists have always called themselves as the followers of the "Aryan Path". Here we must remember that Buddha lived nearly in the same period, and his teachings were first accepted in Maghadha. Hence it is no wonder that the orthodox Brahmins have denounced the heterodox Maghadians as the non-followers of the Aryan Path or Anarya. It seems that Weber was right in his surmises. The word "Arya" never stood as a racial name as it is used by the Germanic savants. It never denoted a particular biotype in the Sanskrit Literature. Jaska's "Anarya" is not the Sanskrit translation of French "Non-Aryen" or German "Nicht-Arier". It seems the word "Anarya" as nowadays used in India is the translation of the aforesaid European words, which either have got anthropological or political meaning. It is evident that in the Sanskrit books the word "Arya" has got only a cultural and religious meaning.

Thus the fight began with the orthodox polity supported by the priestly class and the heterodox and

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\*\* The Jaina religious books regarded Magadha and Bengal to be the countries of good Aryans, who were called "Khettariya". Vide S. Levi—"*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*" translated by P. Bagchi pp. 3—74

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, op. cit. 31 : Geldner : "*Rigveda Commentar*" 58.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, "*Indische Studien*" I, 186.

revolutionary polity backed by the Kshatriyas. It is significant that many of the exponents and leaders of Jainism and Buddhism and other dissentient sects were Kshatriyas. If the ruling class began to revolt from the Vedic polity there was no wonder that the Vaishyas and the downtrodden Sudras followed their train too. Hence the class-struggle entered a new phase of religious struggle.

The Sociologists opine that everywhere in ancient and mediaeval ages class-struggle has taken the form of religious struggle<sup>1</sup>. And it is a historical truth. In politically developed states of Greece and Rome class-struggle was very clear and followed a clear political path. But in the latter part of the Roman Empire when the slaves and the lowly, accepted Christianity and in the Middle Ages when the heretical sects fought the Roman Catholic hierarchy, did not class-struggle take the form of religious struggle<sup>2</sup>? We will have to see the historical materialistic force behind the heretical movements. We must remember that the Ideological interpretation of history and the Economic interpretation of history meet in the common ground—interest<sup>3</sup>.

Hence what was the motive force behind the revolt against the Vedic sacerdotalism by the non-Brahmin classes of India of those days. A historical materialistic interpretation of the phenomenal rise of Buddhism in India is not yet given. What was the force that led the masses of peoples to accept a

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<sup>1</sup> Dollinger, "*Contributions to the theory of Sects*" Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Max Beer, "*Social struggle and Social Forerunner*" p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ward, "*Applied Sociology*."



religion which ensured salvation to all and gave a democratic polity to them? We will have to reconstruct the history of this period.

Then came the rule of the Nandas after the Kshatriya rule of the Saisunagas in Maghadha. It seems the Nandas were not accepted as Kshatriyas and the Puranas say that Mahapadma Nanda uprooted the Kshatriyas<sup>4</sup>.

The question can be pertinently asked here, what led to the holocaust of the Kshatriyas by Mahapadma? The Purans are silent about it. Is it due to the fact that perhaps the Nandas were not accepted as Kshatriyas, being the illegitimate offsprings of the Saisunagas, or that they were the offsprings of mixed unions of some sort? At least the Purana says Mahapadma Nanda who exterminated the Kshatriyas had a Sudra woman for a mother, while his relative Chandragupta narrated to the Macedonian Alexander<sup>5</sup> that really he was born of a barber and asserted that as such he was hated by the people. But the Puranas speak of a King of Maghada Visvasphani who "overthrowing all kings he will make other caste kings, namely Kai-varthas, Pancakas, Pulindas and Brahmans, overthrowing the Kshatriya caste he will create another Kshatriya caste"<sup>6</sup>.

Now the question is, who is this Visvasphani who made such a terrible revolutionary change in the country that was ever recorded in Indian history? Pargiter puts his date in the Third Century after

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<sup>4</sup> Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ditto*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ditto*, p. 73.

Christ. But Shamasastri<sup>1</sup> conjectures that he may be one of the "wild chiefs of Sudra origin like Chandragupta" and he sees it confirmed in the illustration of this Visvasphani, thereby putting the date of this occurrence in the third century before Christ; while Jayaswal<sup>2</sup> tries to bring out proof that this mysterious personage was no other than the Seythian satrap Banaspharas of Benares. This assertion requires further proof, but it seems, either Mahapadma Nanda or Chandragupta may fit the Pauranic description. With the rise of the Maurya Chandragupta the ruling power fell in the hands of the Sudras. And this struggle might have led to the fearful massacre of the former ruling class, the Kshatriyas, and the creation of a new class of rulers and the new class of Kshatriyas. Is this not another forceful example of class-struggle in ancient Indian history? Were not the classes which according to the popular expression as "castes" modified by this struggle? In this example it is clearly seen that the state forms and modifies the social stratification.

Then we come to another revolutionary epoch—the rise of the Mauryas. Chandragupta is accredited to have been a Sudra by the Puranas. The tradition goes that with the help of the Brahmin Kautilya, the former one was raised to the throne of Magadha and later on, he became the first emperor of a centralized Indian empire with foreign alliances. Thus, as we have already heard of a Sudra and a Parasava as kings

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<sup>1</sup> R. Sama Sastry, "*Evolution of Indian Polity* pp. 140-141.

<sup>2</sup> Jayswal "*History of India*" 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. in *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XIX Pt. I and II 1933, pp. 41-42.

in the Vedas, now we have a Vrisala Sudra<sup>3</sup> as emperor of North India. An in the reign of the Sudra monarch, Kautilya the prime minister tried to do away with slavery, for he said "The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a Sudra who is not a born slave, and has not attained majority but is an *Arya* by birth (Aryapran) shall be punished with a fine of 12 Panas'..." "but never shall an *Arya* be subjected to slavery...The offspring of a man who has sold himself off as a slave be an *Arya*....on paying the value, (for which one is enslaved), a slave shall regain his *Arya*-hood. The same thing shall apply either to born or pledged slaves"<sup>1</sup>. Here, again, the meaning of the word "*Arya*" comes in another light. If in the Vedas and in the religious books the word "*Arya*" had a religious or cultural designation, here it gives a political meaning. Kautilya's<sup>2</sup> definition clearly shows that no racial meaning as supposed by the Orientalists is attached to it. Here, the word "*Arya*" must be understood in the sense of a citizen or a member of the state with full political rights. It has the same connotation as the word "citizen" in Greece and Rome. Of course the cultural meaning cannot be removed from the civic, as in Greece only a member of the Hellenic tribes could be a citizen, or a Semitic Carthaginian could only enjoy the full rights of Carthaginian citizenship. Hence taking the sense of Kautilya is not a Sudra to be accounted as a member of the "*Aryan*" race?

Then, comes Asoka the grandson of the first Sudra emperor of India. If Kautilya was hard on the Sudras

<sup>3</sup> Vide "*Mudrarakshasa*" Drama.

<sup>1 2</sup> R. Sama Sastry, "*Kautilya's Arthashastra*" p.224.

in the matter of 'wergeld' and upheld the sanctity of the Brahmins in spite of his attempt to do away with slavery in a roundabout way, and in spite of calling them as "Aryas", Asoka did away with the rest of the legal inequalities. His edicts testify that he ordered equalities for all his subjects in the matter of lawsuits and punishment. Further he declared Brahmins to be false Gods and took away the benefices that they were enjoying from old times. It seems that Asoka built up a bureaucracy without a class (varna) basis. The late Pandit Haraprasad Sastri says that these were the causes which led to the Brahmanical revolt against<sup>3</sup> the Mauryas, which came to a head under the Brahmin general Pushyamitra. With the downfall of the Mauryas and with the establishment of Pushyamitra, the Brahmins came to rule over a vast area for the first time\*. With the usurpation of the sceptre, the Brahmins elevated themselves as a ruling class. Manusamhita clearly a reactionary book was composed as the gospel of the great counter-revolution led by Pushyamitra<sup>1</sup>. Here it is asserted that Brahmin can be a general, even a king. Thus the right of a Brahman to ascend a throne is asserted here for the first time. Then the

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<sup>3</sup> Haraprasad Sastri, "*Jour, Asiatic Socy. Bengal*". 1901, p. 259.

\* It is said that Jatakas (73,432) refer to kings of several castes including Brahmins (H. C. Roy Chowdhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 114). But these certainly were not like those in power and influence who usurped the Maurya Imperial throne. They must have been local chiefs or rulers of small areas.

<sup>1</sup> K. P. Jayaswal, "*The Ages of Manu and Jagnavalka*". Narada Samhita speaks about this Varghav that he made an abridgement of the ancient Manu text. Vide Jolly "*Recht u. Sitte*" p. 21.

book is fanatically hard on the Sudras ; its hatred to the Sudras is unbounded. Further it clearly says that only the persons of good families and well versed in Sastra can become King's officers. Again, no Sudra can be appointed as a judge. Thus Asoka's administrative machinery was destroyed and in its place a reactionary brahmanical bureaucratic machinery was set up. It is clear that the book and the laws advocated in it were totally against the Buddhist and the Sudras. Even the Buddhists have been denounced in it.

Thus the "Manava-Dharma Sastra" or the "Laws of Manu" is a great land-mark of class-struggle between the former ruling Sudras with their heretical leanings and the reactionary and counter-revolutionary Brahmins advocating supremacy of the priestly class\*. Since this time and upto the rise of the Guptas in the Second Century after Christ, there is a long list of Brahmanical emperors and kings both in the north and the south of India. It seems, brahmanical hierarchy and claim to sancity firmly began to be rooted in these ages. It must be during these times the right of the Brahmins as the first Varna and superior to all took final shape. Otherwise how can the rights of a sacerdotal class which is subservient to others for its maintenance, can be so firmly established unless and until the right is asserted and maintained by the force of the state. The Greco-Roman priests, the Jewish Rabbi, the Persian Magi, the Egyptian priests,

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\* Vide discussions by B. N. Datta in "*Brahmanical Counter-revolution*" in *J. B. O. R. Society* vol. XXVII 1941, Pt. II.

the Celtic Druids did not put up such claims, though with some of these races the priestly offices became hereditary in some families. The nearest approach to such a claim took place in the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages when the Church was also a temporal state\*, having state force to back its claims. It seems the solution of the query of finding out the origin of the divine claim of the Brahmins lies here and not in the "Purusha Sukta" or the magical power of the priest. The spiritual claim of superiority can only be substantiated by worldly power as "God is on the side of heaviest artillery". If the claim of Magical Power or Necromancy or Divination or the prohibition known as taboo or the fear of Mana be the force to build up an exclusive arrogant caste, then why is it that such castes did not spring up elsewhere where these factors were present?

Again, we find an oppressive brahmanical priesthood in South India. Was this tyranny self-imposed on themselves by the non-Brahmins of the South? Did these people inflict these curses on themselves in order to have the satisfaction of calling themselves as "Hindus" when we know Buddhism and Jainism held their sway there as well. (Jainism is still existing in Mysore). Did the Sudras and the Pariahs who with their complicated social system seem to have seen better days\*\* willingly fell into the degradation in which they are still now, in order to have the satisfaction of calling themselves as "low Castes" or

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\* Vide Pope Hillebrandt's treatment to emperor Henry IV.

\*\* Vide J. Perry, *Children of the Sun*, p. 116.

“untouchable Hindus”? The clue to this situation seems to lie in the monopoly of the state power enjoyed by the Brahmins in South India from the days of Satavahana Dynasty down to Vijayanagar Empire. If we peruse the long lists of the ruling dynasties reigning there from the Andhra Empire we shall find that most of the dynasties were of Brahmin descent. The brahmanical supremacy installed in their minds the idea that Brahmins were not only the temporal lords but also the spiritual lords, hence they were to be regarded as the viceregents of God. This outlook is clear enough. When the king is regarded as the viceregent of God, it is no wonder that his caste will get such a veneration from the subject peoples.

Thus the force of class-struggle in determining the status of a class or in its ossified form caste, cannot be dispensed with. The force of this struggle is too vividly to be seen in the history of Bengal. According to the late Pandit H. P. Sastri the former Buddhists of Bengal by losing their state power became the “untouchables” of today as he says “masses of the Anācharaniya classes are the survivals of the forgotten Buddhism”. § He opined that those of the people of Bengal who after the downfall of the Hindu rule did not either accept Brahmanism or Islam, but stuck to their old mode of worship became the untouchables of today. \*\*

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§ Introduction P. 23 to *“The Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa”* by N. N. Vasu.

\*\* H.P. Sastri, *“Sahitya Parisad Patrika”* 36 vol. Pt. I; Presidential Speech in “Bengalee Literary Conference” held at Burdwan, (in Bengal.)

It is clear that a state can elevate a class or degrade it. Such an example we have seen in Seventeenth Century Poland. History says when Lithuania became united with Poland, lots of Russians of the orthodox Greek Church entered the newly formed kingdom. But the king of Poland desiring to form his subjects homogeneous in the matter of religion ordained, that the Roman Catholic Church was the only religious body to be sanctioned within the state, and to enforce his subjects to conform to one religion only, with one stroke of pen the king ordered the Greek orthodox Church to be abolished, and completely disenfranchised the adherents of that Church from the rights of citizenship. Thus the Russian aristocracy and the orthodox people in general were degraded to the ranks of plebians without any political or social rights.<sup>1</sup>

Such an example is also to be found in Persia and other countries when the Mohammedan Arabs conquered those lands. The former ruling peoples were degraded to the rank of "Jimmi"<sup>2</sup> (tribute paying Kafirs.) The former rulers became Pariahs in their own countries. These examples are brought out here to show that a state can elevate or degrade a class or a caste or a group of peoples, and the status of a class or a caste does not depend upon his physical characteristics, rather it depends upon the state support.\*

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<sup>1</sup> Platonoff, "*History of Russia*".

<sup>2</sup> Geldzieher, "*Islamische Studien*", also writings of Noeldeke, von Kraemer and others.

\* Vide examples in Nepal as seen by H. P. Sastri—N. N. Vasu's book p. 19; also "*Ballala Charita*" where it is said that the king degraded some and raised other castes. The same thing is happening in the Panjab Hills. Vide Ibbetson.



This truth we must not lose sight of in the case of Indian Caste.

Again coming down to modern India, we may pertinently ask why is it that Gujar is a Sudra, while his former kinsman Pratihara is now a Rajput (modern Kshatriya), why the Jats of Sindh at the time of Ben Kasim were regarded as low ostracised Sudras† and were despised by the Brahmins, while their fellow-castemen in Northern Rajputana are regarded as Sat-Sudras nowadays; again to-day, they are arrogating to themselves the status of Kshatriyas? Why does the Bhuiya of Sonthal Parganas call himself a Kshatriya, while his fellow-casteman in West Bengal is regarded as a low caste Sudra? The answer lies in class-struggle i. e., when a caste in question had enough worldly power to raise himself from its former level, it asserted higher status and laid claims to higher origin. Of course historians speak of the formation of social distinction by conquest. When a group of people conquers another, it generally degrades the latter to a lower rank in the body-politic of the society. Such examples are to be found in the case of the Perikoi and the Helots of Sparta and the plebs<sup>1</sup> of Rome, and the slaves of Mediaeval Germany. But were they from anthropological standpoint, men of different racial elements, and did each of them form a different biotype? No testimony has been brought

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† Kanungo: "*History of the Jats*".

<sup>1</sup> Calori "Del tipo brachicefalo negli Italiani odierni" 1868, Nicolucci "Anthropologia del Lazio 1875 also Ripley p. 463, (They speak of the uniformity of race forms in ancient Italy.) R. Virchow agreed with Curtius that the Hellenes and the Pelasgians were two different branches of the same basic race. Vide Virchow's "Die urbevoelkerung Europas" p. 18, 1874.

forward to substantiate such as assertion. A conquering horde may not be of different racial elements from the conquered peoples. Again formation of classes even of castes have been noticed by sociologists and anthropologists in inner Africa.<sup>2</sup> In various places the hardy shepherd tribes have conquered agricultural peoples and have kept themselves separate as ruling castes. It seems in cases like these, exclusiveness leading to prohibition of connubium is due to the pride of superiority arrogated by the conquerors and the desire to keep their power as such, which is an economic question, and which in turn forces the ruler to build up the social hierarchy. Thus class distinction has got an economic origin, and when class ossifies into a caste the economic factors leading to class-interest perpetuate the social heirarchy. It is evident, this has been the case in India when class transformed into caste.

On these grounds it cannot be maintained that the four varnas of India originally represented four Biotypes or racial elements! Such a hypothesis is absurd on the face of it. But if it be maintained that the three upper castes represented one racial element which formed themselves as priviledged twice-born, and the conquered aboriginals became the servile Sudras, then the question comes up that why again there should be fissures between these three upper castes of the same race and why the priests should assert their superiority and the merchant Vaishya should be ranked as the lowest of the twice-born

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<sup>2</sup> F. Oppenheimer—"The State"; vide Von Luschan's Report on the *hima* and other *Ruling tribes of East Africa*.

group? History tells us of the contempt of the aristocrats for the merchant class of every country in ancient times, such has been the case in India as well and there is enough evidence for this. For, this reason, the fighting and ruling born-aristocrats and their kinsmen the priests, have looked down on the agricultural Vaishyas, though they were included as the citizens of the body-politic of India. In ancient days the Vaishya was called an 'Arya' and the Sudras and the Vaishyas both of whom probably worked together in the same economic fields were called as "Sudraryau"\*\*. But in the course of time the occupation of the Vaishya underwent a change. Agriculture and cattle breeding ceased to be the occupation of the Vaishya. He became only the trader. It is said that in a later period the Vaishya, through merchandise became influential, the rich merchants became "Sresthis" and in the period extending from 6th to 7th century A. D., the men of noble families and versed in Vedas dominated the merchants'-guilds. We are now approaching the modern period when North India under the reign of Harshavardhana had alliances extending from the Oxus to the sea, and the South-Indian ruler was receiving a diplomatic mission from the Sassanide emperor of Persia. India of those days was in the hey-day of her material prosperity. The Vaishya class became powerful and their power was manifest in the rise of the Vaishya imperial family of the Vardhanas. On the other hand, husbandry and cattle-breeding were left to the Sudras as Mr. S. K. Dass says "In the

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\*\* Zimmer, p. 215.

Punjab and elsewhere, however several communities did not mind the prohibition ( the Buddhist aversion to taking of life ) and hence their sinking in public estimation to the rank of Sudra" \*. Thus this age saw the elevation of Vaishya to the ruling class, hence it is no wonder that in North India, outside Bengal, the Vaishya still occupies a good position.

Thus in spite of the Vaishya's claim to be a twice-born and of racial affinities with the upper two classes, his elevation to a higher level come with his economic and political importance. Here we have another testimony that economic factors connected with occupation determined the status of a class or caste and its elevation to higher level or degradation was due to its political influence, But what about the Sudras ? This vexed question remains as it is. We are still in the dark regarding the Sudras. As said before they were not mentioned in the oldest part of the Vedas the Rig, \* but were first mentioned in Jajur Veda. The question comes whether the name has got an anthropological significance or it is an economic term. It is said the Sudra is dark and the Orientalists opine that he is the true aboriginal of the soil, and the general impression is that he is the serf or the slave of the conquering Aryans. But as said before, we have heard of dark-skinned Rishis as well as Sudra Kings in the Vedas. The muchmaligned Sudra has been harshly treated in the later Smritis. It is

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\* Santosh Kumar Dass, "*The Economic History of Ancient India*" pp. 284-290.

\* The '*Purusha Sukta*' of the *Rig* is regarded by the Orientalist Scholars as of latter-day interpolation—Vide *Vedic Index* vol. II pp. 247—248.

quite noteworthy to see that from the Rigveda downwards to Raghunandana, the more we come down to modern time the more uncharitable attitude is taken by the Brahmins against the Sudra. Manu was fanatic against him. If we scan the Dharma Satras from Gautama, Baudhayana, Apasthamba downwards to Kulluka Bhatta and Raghunandan we shall find the attitude of the Brahmins worsening towards the Sudras as more we approach the modern age. Baudhyana (18. 8) allowed marriage between the Brahmins and the Sudras. Apasthambha said "Sudras may cook food for the masters of the higher castes under the supervision of the Aryas (Prsna II), also he said that the knowledge that exists traditionally among women and Sudras is the farthest limit of Vidya and it is said to be a supplement of the Atharva Veda "(II.11.29.11-12)"<sup>1</sup>. The date of these three as assigned by V. P. Kane is between 600 to 300 B. C. <sup>2</sup> i.e. post-vedic age. But Vasistha is against this kind of intermarriage. He prohibits study of the Vedas by the Sudras or even in their presence. His date is assigned by Kane as "the first centuries of the Christian era"<sup>3</sup>. Thus we see that the more we come towards the modern age the more the Brahmins become hostile towards the Sudras. Finally, after the Mohammedan invasion we find Nagabhatta <sup>4</sup> of Maharastra and Raghunandan of Bengal promulgating that there were only two castes, the Brahmins and the Sudras in India, and they degraded all the non-Brahmins to a humiliating position. The only clue, to this brah-

<sup>1 2 3</sup> P. V. Kane, "*History of Dharmasastra (Ancient & Mediaeval)*" vol. I 1930, pp. 41, 8, 58.

<sup>4</sup> C. V. Vaidya, "*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*",

manical mentality lies in the development of feudalism in society and the fierce class-struggle that had been raging within it all the time. There had been many cataclysms in the Indian society since the post-vedic days. The country has discarded Vedicism completely, the members of the four Varnas have held the imperial sway in succession each hurling the other down. The people developed from the tribal stage to the feudal stage. From Harsha downwards to the Palas of Bengal and Maghadha, there had been a revival of\* Buddhist political power. Hence there is no wonder that the Brahmans would anathematise the Buddhists and their followers. Jayswal says that once a Buddhist was synonymous with Sudra. Hence comes the fanatical outlook of the Brahmans.

This struggle may accentuate the hatred of the priesthood who taking their place as ruling class may show uncharitableness towards the masses, but the origin of the Sudras is still shrouded in mystery.

### Who are the Sudras.

Was he the descendants of the early peoples of the soil, or were they generally the helot class of India, or were they Aryans of the lowest strata of the society? Are the Sudras the descendants of the Dasas and the Dasyus mentioned in the early Vedas? It seems no body is clear about it. The Vedic Index says Dasa like Dasyu, sometimes denotes the enemies of a

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\* Lama Taranatha of Tibet in his book called "*The Edelsteinmine*" (translated by Gruenwedel) says that there had been incessant appearances of Mahayani *Siddhas* at the time of Emperor Dharmapala i. e. a great revival of Buddhism took place at that time.

demoniac character in the Rigveda, but in many passages the word refers to human foes of the Aryans' <sup>1</sup> ; and since the Dasas were in many cases reduced to slavery, the word Dasa has the sense of a slave in several passages of Rigveda<sup>2</sup>. But it is also clear from the Rigveda that these peoples stood in higher level of civilization as they had "Ayasapuri" (iron-walled forts ?). Hence they were not contemptible. It is said that the word Sudra means "one who grieves"; he is called the "child of misery". The Orientalists opine that the treatment meted toward the Sudras in earlier Sanskrit texts and the low amount of wergeld for slaying him "reminds us of the condition of the serf whom they legally restrained, still gradually he won his way to the rank of a freeman"<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, in certain passages the Sudra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice (Satapatha Br. V. 5, 4, 9; i, I, 4, 12), again rich Sudras are mentioned in the early texts (Maitrayani Samhita IV 2, 7, 10; Pancavimsa Brahmana VI 1, 11), some of king's ministers were Sudras (Satpatha Brahmana V 3, 2, 2) just as Sudra "gahapatis" (householders) occurred in the Buddhist texts and Sudra kings in legal literature (Fay: "Die konigslche Gewalt" and Fick: "Sociale Gleiderung" 83-84). Sin against the Sudra and Arya is mentioned (Kathaka Samhita XXXVIII, 5; Taittiriya Samhita IV 8, 3, 1), prayers for glory on behalf of Sudra and other castes (Taittiriya Samhita V, 7, 6, 4); on the other hand Sudra uses Magic just as Arya does occur; and the desire to be dear to Sudra as well

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<sup>1 2</sup> *Vedic Index*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedic Index*, Vol. I.

as to the Aryas is expressed (A V XIX, 348, 141; Vajasaneya Samhita XVI 2). Again the Sutras recognise that Sudras can be merchants (Gautama X 62), or even can exercise any trade (Vishnu II 14). Moreover illicit union between Arya and Sudrā or a Sudra and Aryā are referred to in Samhitas of the Yajurveda (Aryā and Sudra—Vajasaneyi XXXII, 30; Taittiriya VII, 4 196 etc. Sudra and Aryā Vajasaneyi XXIII 31)<sup>4</sup>.

Thus while we have anathemas against the Sudras on the theoretical plane, the practical situation is to be seen from these quotations. On this account we do not wonder that class-feeling may be expressed in the anathemas but the actual working condition was different. The anathemas in the Brahmanical Sutras can be taken as showing only as pious sayings of an interested class, expressing their prejudice, as the very fact of illicit connection between Sudra and Aryā women in Vajasaneyi Samhita is deliberately ignored in Satpatha Brahmana<sup>1</sup>. It is a pure case of class-prejudice which tries to hide the real situation.

These references put us in doubt regarding the Sudras. If the latter were the noseless black-skinned aborigines as depicted by the Orientalists, then how could they assume such positions as referred above? Moreover the Purushasukta by saying that the four Varnas arose out of the four limbs of the God did not put them in a separate category from that of the Aryas. The Purushasukta ascribed a common origin of all castes from God. Again Kautilya accepts them as

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<sup>4</sup> *Vedic Index*, Vol. I.

<sup>1</sup> *Vedic Index*, Vol. I.



the *Aryas*, and Manu, though he was hard on them did not deny that they were regarded as a part of the same social-polity, and all men are described to have a common ancestor in Manu (1—31). Also in *Atri-Samhita* the *Sudra*, *Nishada*, *Chandala* and *Mleecha* are given brahmanical (*Vipra*) Origin\*. Further, the material conditions of the *Sudras* referred above do not show them to have been a race of serfs and slaves—the helots of India. This fact, we should bear in mind. If there had been serfs and slaves in ancient India yet it cannot be said that the *Sudra* class in general were the bondsmen.

### Wer-geld of Non-Brahmins.

The idea about the *Sudra* is generally taken from the *Dharmasastras*, and if they were uncharitable towards the *Sudra*, and hedge him with all kinds of vexations, restrictions, the same authorities have not spared even the other upper two classes above the *Sudras*. In the matter of law and punishment and other treatment, the *Kshatriya* and the *Vaishya* fared worse than the *Brahmana* in the *Dharma Sastras*, though not so badly as the *Sudra*. The discriminations made against the other two classes of the twice-born group were vexatious enough. By referring to some of these *Sastras* we find the following, “By somehow knowing of a *Brahman*-woman, a *kshatriya* or *vaishya* would be purified in a month by living on barley and the urine of a cow” (*Yajñawalkya Samhita* 167). “No offence is committed if a maiden of an inferior caste is lustfully disposed ; otherwise there is penalty for the offence. Death is the penalty, if a similar offence is

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\* Translated by M. N. Dutt, pp. 370—373.

committed on a woman of higher caste" (ibid 291). "Punishment should be meted in order of superiority of Varnas (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Sudras) and castes (i. e. mixed castes)"—Vyasa Samhita 209. "(By taking) a Brahman's food, (one attains to) poverty, (by taking) a Kshatriya's food (one becomes a beast), (by taking) a Vaishya's food one becomes a Sudra; and (by taking) a Sudra's food, one foresooth, goes to hell" (Angiras Samhita 56); "He who dies with the boiled rice of a Brahman in his stomach acquires nectar after death; dying with that of Kshatriya's in stomach, he is permitted with indigence in his next birth; with that of a Vaisya in his stomach, he is consigned to the vile necessity of eating a Sudra's boiled rice again, and with that of a Sudra's boiled rice in his stomach he is consigned to the torments of hell, in his next life". (Atreyi Samhita 67) "Having taken the beef or the boiled rice of the Chandala...a Brahman should gift a cow, Kshatriya two, Vaishya three and the Sudra four cows, under the circumstances" (Parasara Samhita 1-3). "All the Mahapatakins (great sinners) save the Brahmins are subject to capital punishment. There is no corporeal punishment for a Brahmana" (Visnu Samhita Ch. V 1-2). "A Kshatriya having defamed a Brahman shall be fined one hundred (panas), a Vaishya one hundred fifty or two hundred; a Sudra shall suffer corporal punishment (Manusamhita Ch. VIII 267): a Brahman shall be fined fifty (panas) for defaming a Kshatriya: in the case of Vaishya the fine shall be twenty five (panas), in the case of a Sudra twelve" (Ibid 268.)

Apart from the Dharmasastras, Kautilya, the minister of a Sudra emperor did also uphold the juridical and social inequalities. He, in his Arthasastra said "He who causes a Brahman to partake of whatever food or drink is prohibited, shall be punished with the highest amercement; He who causes a Kshatriya do the same shall be punished with the middlemost amercement, a Vaishya with the first amercement and the Sudra with a fine of 54 panas" (Arthasastra 236)<sup>1</sup>. Also he said "a Kshatriya who commits adultery with an unguarded Brahmin Woman shall be punished with the highest amercement; a Vaishya doing the same shall be deprived of the whole of his property and the Sudra shall be burnt alive wound round in the mats" (Ar. 285)<sup>2</sup>.

Thus suchlike quotations can be cited *ad nauseum* showing that not only the Sudras but also the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas fared badly in the hands of priestly class. So, it is not a fact the only the Sudras as the descendants of the black aborigines and as the serfs and slaves of the conquering light-skinned Aryas, felt the brunt of prejudice of the conquerors. Inequalities in law, punishment, right of inheritance and social treatments had been the backbone of Indo-Aryan Polity, and it seems more the society advanced from the tribal state to a feudalistic state, the inequalities became more marked. Of course, the brunt of unequal treatment was felt by the Sudras most as described in the Brahmanical texts. But just the same,

<sup>1</sup> Kautilya's "Arthasastra". Translated by R. Sama Sastry, Bk. IV, chapter XIII, pp. 282-285.

<sup>2</sup> Kautilya's "Arthasastra". Translated by R. Sama Sastry, Bk. IV, chapter XIII, pp. 282-285.

the other castes above the Sudras felt the burden of these inequalities, and their difference from those of the Sudras lay in proportion only. But, making a comparative study with the countries having had a similar socio-political evolution and civilization it will be found that the peoples in those countries had to put up with similar kinds of unequal treatments. The difference was that in India, the members of the sacerdotal caste seized the political power and kept it to themselves for a long period.

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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The Twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its sittings at Baroda from the 2nd to the 6th of January last. A number of interesting papers were read in the Section of Anthropology, some of which are summarised below :—

### Section of Anthropology.

*President* :—M. H. KRISHNA, M. A., D. LITT. (LOND.)

1. *Relation between cranial capacity and jaw-volume in South Indians.*

A. ANANTHANARAYANA AYER, Madras.

There has been a progressive increase of brain size in relation to body size during evolution. The ratio between brain weight and body weight is the simplest method for comparison. Dubois' cephalization coefficient is considered to be a more accurate evaluation of the part of the brain which subserves intelligence and the coefficient of cephalization has also been used for comparison between different animal species and even different races of men. Weidenreich (1936) in his study of *Sinanthropus* has devised a relation between Cranial Capacity and jaw-volume. It is a ratio between the intelligence apparatus and the masticatory apparatus and is based on the principle that the Cranium and Jaw have an inverse proportion to each other. The Jaw-volume is computed by multiplying the anthropometric measurements of (i) length of mandible, (ii) bicondylar breadth, and (iii) height (length) of ramus of mandible. The chief advantages of this relation between Cranial Capacity and Jaw-volume are the use of minimum material and the

possibility of using it even for fossil material where body weight cannot be known. Sixteen male adult South Indian skulls have now been investigated and the average value for the relation of Cranial Capacity and Jaw-volume is  $+2.7$  and the value usually ranges between  $+2.4$  and  $+3.0$ .

2. *The somatometry of the Chinese of Calcutta.*

M. N. BASU, Calcutta.

Somatometric measurements and somatoscopic observations were taken on 50 adult male Chinese of Calcutta. They are compared with the Chinese of Shantung, Manchuria, Chilhi and China proper. On analysis it is seen that the Chinese of Calcutta are composed of different anthropological types, the ethnical origin of which is more confused.

3. *Blood groups of criminal tribes.*

D. N. MAJUMDAR, Lucknow.

There are in the United Provinces forty-six criminal tribes with a membership of nearly fourteen lacs. This does not include the mixed criminal gangs about forty in number, belonging to various castes and communities in the Province. Little data exist on the somatology and blood groups of these tribes. An anthropological survey of the racial elements in the population of the U. P. under the auspices of the Census of the Province, 1941, has been undertaken by the author which is expected to provide some very useful data on the criminal tribes. Malone and Lahiri have given the blood group data of a large number of people in the U. P., but as they do not give separate

analysis for the social groups, castes or tribes, they do not tell much. Recently Dr. Macfarlane has given the blood groups of 43 Banjaras (*J.R.A.S.B*, Vol. VI, 1940, No. I). In the present paper blood group data from two other criminal tribes are given and the author attempts to explain and interpret the group concentrations and their gene frequencies.

4. *Studies of the whorl on head hair of the inmates of the Alipur Reformatory and Industrial Schools.*

P. C. BISWAS, Calcutta.

Within the hair on the head above the junction of two parieto-occipital sutures a single or more whorls may occur. The hair abruptly changes the usual course and forms spirals. I have examined one hundred juvenile delinquents of the Alipur Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Calcutta. Among these hundred data I have got 94% single whorl and 6% double, among these 94% single whorl, there are 25% anti-clockwise and 69% clockwise. In comparing with the normal individuals it could be seen that there is some difference in the appearance of double whorls on the criminal head-hair. Double whorl appears in 17.5% in the normal, whereas on the criminal head I have got 6%. Besides these in the normal head-hair three types of double whorl appear :—

1. Clockwise—anti-clockwise,
2. Clockwise—clockwise,
3. Anti-clockwise—anti-clockwise,

but among criminals I have got only one type, clockwise—anti-clockwise.

5. *The use of the seals of Mohenjo-Daro.*

C. R. Roy, Karachi.

A large number of seals with pictographic script and animal designs have been found at Mohenjo-Daro. Neither has the script been deciphered nor has the actual use of the seals been known. Here an attempt has been made to throw some light on the use of the seals. Some theories advanced: (1) they were connected with currency, (2) they were used to seal the articles of merchandise, (3) they were used as amulets. Drawbacks of these theories. Analysis and classification of the seals. Seals with the Unicorn have been found in large numbers and come from each and every house in Mohenjo-Daro. The Unicorn seal was universally used by people of the Indus Valley. Probable uses for the universal seal: (1) they may be connected with currency, (2) national dress and badge, (3) religion. Arguments against the first two theories. Only possible theory is that they were connected with religion. Sir John Marshall's cult of Mother Goddess and Shiva is partially correct. The principal religion was connected with the cult of the Unicorn. Clay sealings were used for the worship of a deity, the vehicle of which is the Unicorn. Votive sealings were in use from time immemorial and even at present the practices of sealings are found in the rites among the Vaishnavites.

6. *Prehistoric tree-cult.*

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, Calcutta.

In the present investigation an attempt is made to trace the history of the cult of the fig tree, more particularly, of the pipal in India.



Besides the pipal leaf and branch which appear as decorative motifs on painted pottery unearthed in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan there have been found sealings with the whole pipal tree, with clear indications of the sacred import of the representation, and seals representing the tree-deity in anthropomorphic form in close contact with the tree have also been found. Coming to the Vedic age it is found that the pipal, udumbara and also nyagrodha are regarded as givers of fertility, wealth, cure, etc., and associated with the spirits of dead ancestors and other spirits. The Sūtras attribute also a malignant aspect of them. In the Mahabharata the banyan and udumbara retain their evil influence though they are also abodes of deities like the pipal. In the Puranas the pipal and udumbara promote conception, the banyan is an abode of pretas. In the existing orthodox worship, the pipal gives male children, wealth, etc., the udumbara cures disease. Elaborate ceremonies for planting the pipal for obtaining male offspring and for marrying it with the plantain tree are prescribed. In folk-worship, the pipal and banyan are worshipped for long life, wealth, male offspring and become a medium for transference of disease and evil. The pipal maintains its connection with ancestor-worship. In the Buddhist religion the pipal is worshipped for its association with the attainment of Buddha-hood by the Master.

The history of the cult shows that from the Atharva-Veda downwards the fig has been associated without a break with similar ideas. Perhaps the same ideas were also associated with the pre-historic cult of the pipal, because it seems, as Hutton has suggested,

that the cult was originally a contribution of the earliest Negrito population of India being associated with fertility cults and ancestor-worship from a very early date, taken up from the successors of the Negritor by the Indus Valley people and developed by them. This indigenous cult was adopted by the Vedic Aryans and observed into their official religion, without the old associations of the cult being suppressed.

7. *The goddess of child-birth.*

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, Calcutta.

In the present investigation an attempt has been made to show that an unanimity prevails in the worship of Shashṭhī, the goddess of child-birth and the guardian deity of childhood, in different provinces in India among Hindus and Hinduized tribes such as is not to be found in the case of any other functional deity; that though her popularity is so great, her cult has no existence in the Vedic literature, in the epics and in the earlier Puranas, proving there by that she is probably a folk deity; that the cult has affiliations, on the contrary, with old cults of demonesses or female evil spirits killing germs and embryos, destroying children by causing them maladies and other ills, to be found in the Vedic literature, in the epics, in the Buddhist literature, etc.; that the existing worship of the goddess shows that protection from the malign influences of noxious spirits forms the most important element in it and that there are certain instances of folk-worship, probably of tribal origin, of vegetal deities such as Rūpesvarī, Burī, Gunri Thākuraṇī, Vana-Durgā, etc., offered by women for the protection and

welfare of their children, which may appropriately be brought into connection with the cult of Shashṭhī.

From these considerations it is concluded that Shashṭhī the popular goddess of child-birth and guardian deity of childhood worshipped throughout India under such names as Chhathi, Satvai, Sathei, Sathi, etc., was originally probably none other than an old child-destroying demoness with tribal affiliations who was transformed into a protectress of children like Hārīti, Jyeshṭhā, etc., and next into the presiding deity of childhood. It is shown further that in this capacity, following a well-observed tendency, she has been identified with the great Devi as the mother of the universe, nurse of mankind, creatrix of the world, protectress of the gods, etc., and has acquired as a result thereof new attributes such as the giver of offspring, healer of barrenness, etc.

#### 8. *Kinship in the Vedic period.*

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, Calcutta.

In this paper the writer discusses the papers on Vedic kinship terminology and usage by Dr. Irawati Karve published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. He points out that there is no evidence of a Vedic consanguinous family nor of marriage being the privilege of only the eldest son in the family. The term *devura* is shown to be used for any brother of the husband and not the younger brothers only as alleged by Dr. Karve. The parallel drawn between the Vedic family and the Khasa polyandrous family of Jaunsar-Bawar is also shown to be based on wrong identification,

9. *Levirate in Assam.*

J. K. BOSE, Calcutta.

Levirate is the custom of marrying a deceased brother's widow. This institution is widely spread among the tribes in Assam. In this paper an attempt will be made to discuss the different types of levirate found amongst the tribes in Assam and a suggestion will be made as to the probable origin of this institution.

10. *Some practical suggestions for the improvement of a primitive tribe.*

TARAK CHANDRA DAS, Calcutta.

The author of this paper at first evaluates the suggestion of some anthropologists about keeping the primitive tribes of India in so-called 'National Parks' where they will remain unaffected by outside influences. He next considers the Cochin State Scheme for the improvement of the Nayadis by settling them in State colonies where they are given land, houses, clothes and education, besides other amenities of life, free of any charge.

The author next puts forward his own suggestions for the improvement of a particular tribe, the Purums, living on the eastern border of India, which may be applied to other tribes as well, with slight modifications. Improvement is urgent in two spheres, namely, (a) health and sanitation, and (b) material comforts of life. In the opinion of the author, attempts at the spiritual uplift of tribal people are beset with many difficulties and should not be imposed from outside.

Ignorance of the rules of personal and domestic hygiene as well as rural sanitation coupled with the the absence of any idea about the efficacy of scientifically prepared drugs is at the root of the high death-rate among the primitive people. This ignorance is to be removed and medicines made easily available. The author suggests means to attain this end.

To improve the material comforts of life more food, more leisure and more amusements are necessary. The author suggests the following measures for the improvement of the material condition of the Purums, namely, (a) introduction of a type of cotton for cultivation in the *Jhums* which may be used in the textile mills, (b) introduction of new foodcrops, (c) encouragement of fruit-gardening, and (d) introduction of milk as a common food and rearing of cows and buffaloes. This would automatically give them more leisure which can be easily devoted to amusements. Production of art objects as a source of individual and communal pleasure should be encouraged. The monotony of their life may be relieved by introducing dramatic performances composed out of tribal myths. These may also be utilized to inculcate tribal morality.

But these attempts at improvement will largely depend on previous training for their success and the author sketches the type of education to be imparted to this primitive group together with the machinery for implementing this education which is expected to solve the difficulties of their life.

11. *Some Munda religious ceremonies and their system of reckoning time.*

M. B. BHADURI, Dharanjaigarh (Udaipur).

1 & 2. Munda division of the year into three seasons—the stars presiding over the seasons. Natural signs and phenomena indicating the seasons. Nirbisi explained. Religious ceremonies of the summer season.

3, 4 & 5. Religious ceremonies of the rainy season. 'Adra' explained. 'Sohrai' explained.

6. Religious ceremonies of the cold season.

7 & 8. Munda division of time into months. The system of naming of the months. 'Buru' explained.

9. Gola—Mage—end of the Mundari Year.

10. Umbra and eclipse of the moon. Myth connected therewith.

11. Birhor eclipse myth.

12. Idea of eternity. Past, present and future.

13 & 14. Division of the month into days. Hours of the day.

15. Auspiciousness of the months.

12. *A preliminary note on the typology of palaeolithic sites in Mayurbhanj.*

D. SEN, Calcutta.

In this paper, the author discusses the typology of the newly discovered palaeolithic sites in the Maurbhanj State. He has attempted to classify the main tool families with type tools and sub-types that make up the various industries. The tools in

their typology seem to reveal existence in a country of a phase or phases of an early palaeolithic civilization with core tool cultures somewhat recalling the abbevillianacheulian of Madras but having peculiarities of their own. Different types of hand-axes, cleavers, choppers, discoids, scrapers, borers and other tools on cores characterize the lithic cultures. Besides the core tool series, there are pebble tools and also a very small number of flake-tools and though they may form minor industries as such, their presence is significant. All the implements occur *in situ* in geologically datable lateritic deposits near Kuliana ten miles north of the Baripada town.

13. *A study on pottery-making in a potters' village in Mayurbhanj.*

D. SEN, Calcutta.

The whole process of pottery-making in the village has been observed and described in detail by the writer from the khadan and prepared (in four stages) for the wheel—the required shape on the wheel, then how it is softly beaten to proper thickness and form, the process consisting of four stages and then the drying in the shade and lastly the preparing for and the firing in the furnace (poan) have been described in detail. The potter's wheel, the different instruments and the furnace are fully described. Pottery types, market and income, supplementary occupations, ceremonials, etc., are also given.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

*Sri Krishna Maharaja Memorial number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. xxxi, Nos. 3 & 4. Published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore city, 1941.*

It is in the fitness of things that the Mythic Society of Mysore has brought out this commemoration volume of its Journal as a tribute to the revered memory of the late illustrious ruler of Mysore His Highness the late Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur who was deeply interested in the objects of the Society and laid the foundation stone of its house. The State of Mysore passed through a glorious period of all round progress during the rule of this prince among peers, for 45 years. The volume contains an account of the life and career of the late Maharaja and messages and tributes from many eminent persons, both inside and outside the State, besides a number of original contributions. Among the latter may be mentioned 'The History of Mysore' By Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyanger, 'Archaeology in Mysore' By B. Venkoba Rao, 'Sivaji and Mysore Raj' by Dr. M. H. Krishna, 'The Contribution of Mysore to Vaisnavism in South India' by A. N. Krishna Aiyanger.

*Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Silver Jubilee Number, 1942.*

With the present issue the Journal celebrates its Silver Jubilee. We think the Editor deserves our congratulations for the rich and varied fare he has



provided. Some of the articles it contains, are highly illuminating and thought-provoking, and marked by deep erudition and striking originality of thought. But, "where is", an inquisitive reader might ask, "the 'parlous fear'?" A University Journal must be an organ of the corporate life of the University. It must find space for the ordinary activities and achievements which form the ground-note of the life of the University and which, in fact go to the root of things. We also find no attempt made in the Journal to turn "the accomplishments of many years into an hour glass". The learned Editor ought to have presented to our mind's eye a Kaleidoscopic vision of the budding life of the University blossoming forth into lusty, buoyant manhood it has now attained.

*M. N. Banerji, M. A.*

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Ramayana and Lanka**, Parts I & II, T. Paramashiva Iyer, Printed at the Bangalore Press, Bangalore City. Price, 3/12.

In the first part of the book the author deals with the historical geography of the Ramayana and in the second part makes critical observations on certain aspects of the great epic. He has given very sound reasons in favour of discarding the age old belief that Ceylon is the Lanka of Ramayana. No one will seriously dispute this, as other authorities had previously come to the same conclusion. But the author's main thesis is the location of Lanka on the Indrano hill, north of the Hiran river in the Jubbulpur district, 15 miles north of Jubbulpur town, and the identification of the former hill as the Trikuta of Ramayana and the hill opposite as Suvela. The location of Lanka in this region is based on the instruction given by Sugriva to the south-bound Vanaras asking them to search 'the thousand headed Vindhya and the Narmada river difficult of approach' (Sarga 41, verse 8, Kishkindha), and the fact that neither Hanuman nor Rama appeared to have crossed the Narmada on their way to Lanka. From this the author concludes that Trikuta lies between the Vindhya and the Narmada river. He then identifies the wall-like south western extension of the Kaimur Range as the Mahendragiri, the gorge of the Kair stream which is a tributary of the Hiran as Mahendra Dvar. As regards the 100 yoyana sea between the Mahendra-

giri and Lanka, which according to the author is about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles, he is of the opinion that 'it is highly probable that in the old days, the Hiran, which hugs the Indrana hill on three sides, spread out as a shallow lake all round the hill'. He further considers the Gonds to be the modern representatives of the Rakhsasas and the Korkus as the Vanaras. The author has traced the entire route followed by Rama from Ayodhya and has identified all the landmarks. He has given two sketch maps in the text and one large map at the end on a scale of 4" to a mile, to bring out the main points of the thesis. The arguments are drawn chiefly from the text of the Ramayana and in the preface the views of Pargiter and Sirdar Kibe (the latter on an incorrect assumption) have been examined, but one regrets the absence of references to other authorities. Apparently the author's conclusions and identifications fit into the narration of the Ramayana, but an examination of the topo sheet appended shows the presence of several hillocks over 1600' high between the Indrana hill over 1900' high and the Kaimur Ridge over 1500' high. If this tract were once surrounded by a lake surely the lake would be interspersed with hills and would not be difficult of negotiation. Lakes are, no doubt, temporary features and small lakes might have existed in parts of Central India and the Central Provinces. But the greatest difficulty in the way of the acceptance of the author's identifications is that no field work seem to have been carried out, and some of the identifications such as those of Kiskkindha and Rishyamukh appear imaginary and

unconvincing. However it is a bold thesis and the author's ingenuity in interpreting topo sheets, his profound knowledge of the Ramayana and other ancient sacred books, his critical insight and analytical power are admirable. It is for specialists and future workers to check the correctness or otherwise of his findings.

Certain conclusions of Part I such as, that Lakshmana was a bachelor and Urmila was a fictitious person, that Sita's insult to Lakshmana and the story of Maricha are fakes, are interesting and original if not always convincing.

*S. C. Chatterjee, D. Sc.*

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**Akhand Hindustan**, K. M. Munshi, New Book Co., Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay, 1942. Price, Rs. 4/-

This book is a collection of articles and speeches of Mr. Munshi, ex-Home Member Bombay Government. Although one expects, from the title of the book, a thorough exposition of the case for Akhand Hindustan and a critical examination of the implications of the Pakistan plan, one finds that the topics dealt with are not only varied but have hardly any relation to the main theme. The author himself says in the preface that 'they are all the outcome of an effort to study and present the unity which runs through the history, culture and the life of India'. In the earlier chapters some of the practical difficulties of giving effect to the Pakistan plan and the disastrous results which may follow the disruption and the evil consequences of the

modern concept of 'national sovereignty', which, according to the author, is one of the basic causes of the Pakistan demand, have been brought out very pointedly. Apart from the political considerations the book has dealt with certain topics of academic interest. Mr. Munshi brings out the essential unity of Indian culture and civilisation and traces its growth as an organism by absorbing the best elements of the different alien cultures with which it came into contact. The synthetic nature of the Indian culture has been well exposed indicating at the same time the coexistence of the characteristic elements of the constituent religious and cultural groups.

The later chapters deal with the special features and the central idea of the ancient culture of India, and there are observations on topics like 'creative resistance, significance of truth and nonviolence', etc.

The book deserves wide publicity.

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**Acarya-Puspanjali Volume** (in honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar). General Editor Bimala Charan Law, Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1940.

This volume is offered as an appreciation of the profound scholarship and the lasting contributions of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to Indian History and Culture, by the members of the Indian Research Institute with whose journal "The Indian Culture" he has been connected since its inception. Dr. Bhandarkar needs no introduction and the Indian Research Institute should be congratulated on bring-

ing out this remarkable volume with valuable contributions on a variety of subjects dealing with different aspects of oriental studies from his friends, admirers and pupils. There are altogether 50 articles some of which are from the pen of distinguished savants such as, Prof. Sten Konow, Dr. A. B. Keith, Dr. H. Luders, Dr. Jean Przylusky, Dr. Ganganath Jha and Dr. Coomarswami. As it is not possible to give a brief resume of all the learned articles covering all the branches of oriental studies, only a few will be noticed here.

Dr. Ganganath Jha invites further investigation to the Aryan invasion of India by showing that it may be a myth. Dr. Shama Sastri shows that the word Zodiac is philologically akin to Ayodhya and that the Ramayana may be a development of an early Zodiacal myth. Abdul Ali traces the cause of the failure of Tippu Sultan to his failure in diplomacy. In a provoking article entitled "The Coming to Birth of the Spirit" Dr. Coomarswami says that "Indian doctrine of palinogenesis is correctly expressed by the Buddhist statement that in reincarnation nothing passes over from one embodiment to another, the continuity being such as can be seen when one lamp is lighted from another". Father Heras considers a sealing from Mahenjo Daro, described by Sir John Marshall as a symbol of mother goddess, as a fertility symbol and compares it with similar symbols from Sumer, Crete and Egypt. Prof. Rai Chowdhury in his article on 'Prototypes of Siva in Western Asia' draws the

attention of scholars 'to certain common features in the religious beliefs of the ancient peoples of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and India which may serve to elucidate certain points in the history of the mythological beliefs associated with the worship of of Siva and the great Debi in the Vedic, epic and Puranic age.' In 'Physical Features of Ancient Bengal' Dr. R. C. Mazumder gives a critical resume of our knowledge of the subject.

*S. C. Chatterjee, D. Sc.*

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**Sources of Karnataka History, Vol. I—By S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A., Published by the University of Mysore. Price Rs. 3/-**

In this volume the author has made a systematic attempt at compiling and collating all available sources bearing on the history of Karnataka. Not only Kannada, but Telegu, Tamil, Sanskrit, Greek, Chinese, Persian and Marathi sources that have come to light have also been included. These have been set down in an approximately chronological order. The extracts from epigraphic records have been arranged in such a way as to yield a continuous account, with as few gaps as possible. Each extract is accompanied by a short historical note and important references to the problems raised therein are given in the foot-notes. We congratulate the author on the production of the excellent volume, which we hope, will prove highly useful to scholars interested in the study of Karnataka history and culture.

*M. N. Banerji, M. A.*

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**The Nalanda Year-Book, 1941** ( Nalanda Press, 204, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta ).

We welcome this new-comer to the ranks of Indian reference annuals. It can successfully challenge comparison with other similar publications in the field. It is crammed with up-to date facts, figures and statistics, both Indian and international. The materials are systematically arranged and carefully indexed. A notable feature of the book is a number of special articles in the last section, contributed by distinguished scholars. We congratulate the editor on his bringing out the Year-Book, which, we dare say, will be found highly useful by seekers after accurate and up-to-date information on world-affairs,

*M. N. Banerji, M. A.*

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We have received from the Provincial Press Advisor, Bihar, a series of articles on Air Raid Precautions for publication. The third article is printed below and others will follow in subsequent issues:—

## **Air Raid Precautions.**

### **Incendiary Bombs and how to deal with them**

The use of fire to damage the enemy has long been known. It has been left to this enlightened age of civilization, however, to devise the perfect method of causing fire and damage to the enemy, viz., incendiary bomb.

Incendiary bombs are of several types and sizes but the one most likely to be used is the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lb. bomb. Incendiary bombs can weigh as much as 135 lbs. but whatever their weight they all start fires.

One large bomber can carry between 1,000 to 2,000 of these light bombs. The bombs will probably be dropped, not singly but in containers from a considerable height. The contents of several containers can be released simultaneously. These bombs cannot be aimed at all and as they fall they spread out, viz., a group of bombs dropped simultaneously from a height of 5,000 feet will cover an area of about 100 square yards.

An incendiary bomb consists of a thick walled cylindrical tube 9 inches long by 2 inches in diameter made of an alloy of magnesium with a small proportion of aluminium iron oxide. This is fired by an igniter which may be situated in the nose or in the rear end of the tube. On one end of the tube there is a 5 inch

tail, fitted with vanes, to steady the bomb in flight. With the exception of the tail and igniter all the rest is incendiary material.

The bomb does not explode on impact. When it hits the roof of a building or the ground the needle of the igniter is driven into a small percussion cap which ignites the priming composition inside the magnesium tube. This burns for 40—50 seconds at a temperature of about 2,500° centigrade. This great heat melts and ignites the magnesium tube which burns for 10—15 minutes at a temperature of about 1,300° centigrade. It may burn for 20 minutes and will set fire to anything inflammable within a few feet.

During the first 50 seconds or so the priming composition inside the tube, burns very violently; jets of flame are shot out from vent holes and pieces of molten magnesium of the tube may be thrown as far as 50 feet away. As the tube melts and the pressure inside is reduced this violence decreases after about a minute. Fires are started by these jets of flame, by the pieces of molten magnesium thrown outwards and the heat generated. The thermite composition (inside the tube) contains its own oxygen and cannot be extinguished by smothering it. The magnesium tube must get oxygen from the air to burn.

An incendiary bomb does not penetrate very far. It will, however, penetrate any ordinary roof (including tiles, slates, corrugated iron and wood) and start fires in the roof or in the room immediately below. If the floor of the room is made of wood the bomb may pierce it or else the molten magnesium will drip through and start fires,

The magnitude of the fire in the roof itself will depend largely on the amount of timber or other inflammable material in the place.

It is not difficult to imagine what will happen if ever bombers came over and dropped incendiary bombs on any town in Bihar. If they are not dealt with within two to three minutes after falling they may start so many fires that it will be impossible to put them out.

Protection against small incendiary bombs is afforded by—

- (1) covering flat roofs with  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch mild steel plates ;
- (2) constructing roofs or floors of 4 to 6 inches of reinforced concrete,  
or ;
- (3) reinforcing the existing roof with a covering of sand or a layer of sand bags (laid as closely as possible).

Corrugated iron sheets are not satisfactory as they get red hot and so set on fire anything inflammable in contact with them.

If your roof is not proof against penetration by an incendiary bomb you should—

- (1) protect the floor below by spreading 2 inches of sand on it or better still 2 inches of foam slag (the residue from blast furnaces) which weighs a third of the weight of an equal quantity of sand or a thickness of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches of household ash from coal fires or 2 inches of ordinary earth, which must be free of

vegetable matter, i.e., leaves, twigs of branches, etc. If bombs fall on this, they will burn out harmlessly ;

(2) remove all inflammable material and rubbish from rooms ;

(3) have handy in the room buckets or tins of water and sand or dry earth with a long handled shovel.

It is of the utmost importance that the situation is tackled as soon as possible after the bomb starts burning to prevent a small fire becoming a conflagration which will devastate the house, if not the whole town.

Incendiary bombs cannot be put out by the ordinary methods of extinguishing fire, e.g., water, smothering with sand, earth foam or the fumes of Chemical Fire Extinguishers which cut off the supply of oxygen. In fact, they are dangerous. If water is thrown on a burning bomb the effect is not to extinguish it but to make it burn more fiercely and scatter the burning magnesium.

The best methods of dealing with incendiary bombs are (1) by applying water by a special spray nozzle. This causes the magnesium to burn up rapidly in one to two minutes instead of from 10—15 minutes. The surroundings must be kept damp and the fire prevented from spreading.

The equipment for this is the stirrup hand pump. It looks like a motor tyre pump and the hose instead of being a few feet, is 30 feet in length to allow one to be well away from the heat and smoke. It

delivers 3 gallons of water in a minute from a nozzle  $\frac{1}{8}$ th inch. The nozzle serves two purposes, it can throw a jet of water 30 feet (for ordinary fires) or a spray 15 feet (for bombs).

Two buckets or other water containers should be kept ready from before. About 6 gallons of water are usually required to control a bomb and extinguish a fire in a room of moderate size and without too much furniture or rubbish in it.

and (2) by smothering it with dry sand or earth, provided it has fallen where you can get at it. A bucket full of sand or earth is enough to cover and control a small bomb.

The sand or earth does not extinguish the bomb but, by cutting off the supply of free air, it causes the bomb to burn less fiercely and the glare and heat are reduced.

When tackling bombs the heat may be so great it will be impossible to approach within 10 feet, of the bomb, hence the necessity for a shield made of asbestos  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter on a light metal frame or a blanket in four folds should be carried on the arm to give protection from the heat.

In some cases the glare and light is so powerful that dark glasses must be worn.

*Remember:—*Act promptly.

Prompt action may be the means of saving lives.

Prompt action will save property.

Prompt action prevents serious damage.

Prompt action will defeat the object of raid.

# ESSAYS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

*Presented to*

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## SOME RECENT CONTACT PROBLEMS IN THE KHASI HILLS

By J. P. MILLS

.....family are adherents of the old religion, an acute difference of opinion can easily arise. The non-Christians can argue that since no Christian can perform the religious duties which fall to the lot of Ka khadduh, the custody of the family property must pass to the appropriate non-Christian. As against this the Christians can point to the undoubtedly strong Khasi feeling that the youngest daughter is the only proper Ka khadduh and that in these days no one can be disinherited on religious grounds. So far quarrels of this nature generally seem to have been compromised in family councils and the Courts have never been called upon to give a definite ruling. But were the parties in some particular quarrel to prove irreconcilable and a Court be forced to give a binding decision it is difficult to see that what decision ought to be. Some indication of a possible solution is contained in a ruling by Government on a Synteng case in 1918. Colonel Gurdon in his Monograph\* written some years earlier said "in the event of the youngest daughter changing her religion she loses her position in the family and is succeeded by her next youngest sister as in the case of death". In 1918, however, Government ruled as follows—"It appears, however, to be admitted that in recent times converts to Christianity have been permitted to inherit ancestral property, and the Chief Commissioner is advised that this is strictly correct, for, whatever may have been the old Synteng custom, Act XXI of 1850, which is in force in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, would not allow British Courts to enforce a custom which would exclude any person from inheritance merely by reason of his or her change of religion. If the property to be inherited is not the sole and absolute property of the holder, but is subject to an obligation to perform certain acts, probably, as you suggest, the heir would be bound to make necessary provision for the due performance of such acts. It

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\* Gurdon "*The Khasis*", p. 83.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF CULTURE-TRAITS

*By* N. N. SEN GUPTA

.....symptom of the ambivalent conflict, also slowly disappeared." This accounts for the passing away of the taboo in the civilised life. The unconscious impulses, taken on a social scale and in the ambivalent situation, account for the taboo (13).

Animism and magic likewise represent an over-estimation of the mental life and its operations. This is characteristic of the neurotic as well as of the primitive. In both the cases there is a belief in the capacity to dominate the world. Both the cases exhibit the operation of another general type of operation of the unconscious, namely narcissism. Such narcissism operating in the unconscious striving taken on a social scale, gives rise to animism and magic (14).

The sacrificial killing of the totem animal and the tribal feast are well-known phenomena. But this phenomena is associated with certain others. (i) In the first place, the members of the clan disguise themselves in imitation of the totem and produce sounds resembling those of the totem. (ii) Secondly, the members of the clan know that an act usually forbidden is being performed. (iii) There is a bewailing of the totem after it is killed. (iv) This is followed by festive holiday. This complex set of facts is explained by Freud in the following manner: "Psycho-analysis has revealed to us that the totem animal is really a substitute for the father, and this really explains the contradiction that it is usually forbidden to kill the totem animal, that the killing of it results in a holiday and that the animal is killed and yet mourned. The ambivalent emotional attitude which to-day still marks the father complex in our children and so often continues into adult life is also extended to the father substitute of the totem animal" (15).

The unconscious strivings of certain primal urges taken on a group-scale lie at the basis of the peculiar relation of the totem with tribe. The totem animal is the ancestor, the father of the



# THEORIES OF CULTURE CHANGE AND CULTURE CONTACT

By A. AIYAPPAN

A very telling illustration may be given of the working of the law of compatibility from our own area. Young Indians brought up in western traditions are nowadays anxious to adopt courtship of which they read so much in English literature and by the romantic charm of which they are naturally overcome. But Indian tradition, opposed to any pre-martial familiarity between young men and women, does not provide the social opportunities for the fascinating contacts preliminary to marriage in the West. Unless Indian Society and mentality undergo revolutionary changes, courtship will not be adopted in Hindu culture.

Compatibility of traits is a matter of great moment in all social legislation and constitutional reforms. Great experiments in democracy are being tried in India on a colossal scale under English tutelage. Whether this western European trait will be assimilated or not by the Hindus is a moot question. Authority divused among the populace is a foreign element to Hindu tradition. Those sceptical observers who know that a dominant trait of Hindu culture is a sense of reverence for authority divine or human, and therefore think that dictatorship has better chances of success in India than democracy may not be absolutely wrong. Nationalism in India may be regarded as a corollary of acculturation, but the mould in which it is cast is Indian, coloured by the all-pervading religiousness which is another important trait in Indian culture. The administrator in order to avoid blunders has to take full cognisance of this law of cultural compatibility. Taking a parallel from physics, it may be said that culture, in its static as well as changing states, follows the Law of Inertia. Changes are mere variations in a direction determined by the patterning tendency dominating the particular culture. We may almost say that whatever changes occur in a culture are not qualitative, but only quantitative, and that no change is allowed to cross the main cultural trends. Individual acts follow the norms as closely as possible,

## THE WOMEN'S HUNT

By W. G. ARCHER

.....hunt was nearing Soso, the total bag amounted to two pigs, two goats and fifteen fowls. These were strung on two poles and were carried by two pairs of strapping girls. On entering Soso, the hunt went straight to the akhra and forming themselves into three lines, the women and girls went dancing round and round like savage and mock males. During the dance they sang again and again the hunting song.

‘After twelve years, the women’s hunt

The raja ties a turban on the woman’s head’

When at last the singing stopped, they stamped four times on the ground and jingled their male dancing bells. A little later the village mahto came and gave them formal permission to hunt in the village. A wild dispersal followed. A pig was sighted. The women galloped after it, and at the end of a hot chase, it was killed. After three fowls had also been secured, the hunt set off on its homeward journey, carrying its swollen spoils in triumph.

Back in Karaundi, the women received a hunter’s welcome. The men, who during the day had done the women’s work of bringing water, cooking, cleaning up the cowshed, and keeping an eye on the children, came out, washed their feet and ushered them in. The women then skinned and cut up the meat, and divided it among the different households; and when the night meal was over, there was a mass women’s dance in the akhra with loud triumphal singing.

A fortnight later, the hunt reached Chetter, also in Gumla thana. Here it totalled about sixty women and girls and consisted mainly of Uraons with a sprinkling of Rautias, Lohars, Ahirs and Chiks. The hunt took in Dumardih and also visited Soso. As it went along, the women who were all dressed as men were heard exchanging quips of the kind ‘Hurry up, there’s a good boy.’ ‘What! A great boy like you can’t walk any faster.’ ‘Look at that old man.’

When the hunt reached Soso in the late afternoon, three

# CONFLICT AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

By K. P. CHATTOPADHAYA

.....garden produce. Yams, nuts and pigs constitute their principal wealth. Chieftainship is unknown. Influence in the community depends on wealth, and generosity in giving it away. A man who contributes food with open hand to every feast of his village and places his wealth constantly at the disposal of his relatives, may eventually be recognised formally as the leader or "ngwane-inoto" of his district. Such leaders have great influence. They can stop fight between groups and arbitrate in quarrels. They can also secure the labour of co-villagers in their gardens in the common interest of the group. When the Europeans took over these islands a portion of the adult male population were regularly sent to Australia as indentured labourers. These men returned regularly after a number of years. Later, Christian Missionaries started schools in these islands and these became quite popular almost immediately. Apart from the practical value of elementary education in keeping account of wages and loans, and in sending letters to relatives, it was found that the Solomon islander was attracted to school by a belief in its efficacy in another field. "He believes that if only he could read and write with the same facility as a European, he too would possess unlimited wealth." Thereafter they would not have to carry heavy boxes or work for Europeans who pay them only a little money, but who can themselves "buy axes, knives, clothing, ships and motor cars". Contact with Christian teaching occurs in intimate fashion as the only schools available are mission schools. After an adult has been at school for some years however "he begins to realise that what he is learning will not help him to secure the material wealth of the white man... Though each generation in turn becomes disillusioned with mission education, they continue to believe that they could have what they want if only they were better trained. The youngsters with pathetic optimism eagerly take the places of those who leave school". Several years at school however often leads to conversion. (2).

# BONGAISM

(A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS  
BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE HOS AND COGNATE  
TRIBES OF CHOTA NAGPUR, BIHAR)

By D. N. MAZUMDAR

.....are regarded by him as parts of himself. The appearance of a strange man, animal or plant disturbs this integral adjustment. A break in the latter means that all the desires and trends of action are disoriented from their setting in things. Such disorientation is effected with pain through tension which arises due to the need of new adjustment and through the failure of satisfaction on the part of the desires and trends of action that turn away from their object.

If pain is convertible to fear as has been shown by psycho-analytic research (Jones, E—Papers on Psycho-analysis, pp. 456-7) pain involved in new adjustment is translated into fear and thus we find among the Hos and other cognate tribes, the villagers who had never seen white men, are thrown into terror immediately some such person appears before them. Such fear and bewilderment, however, are not fixated on the person or object alone but on the entire environment. The objects of the environment were, however, a part of the personality so long. They were therefore, animated, just as the limbs are animated. The process of sudden alienation from the personality through the introduction of an object believed to be strange does not change their character. The environment remains animated but strange. It comprises objects of fear dismay or of a similar order of emotion. The mal-adjustment may set in through the introduction of one object, the fear etc., however, pertain to the whole.

It is only where the primitive man is restored to some kind of mental balance that he can view his own personality, the pictorial self as distinct from the environment that the seed of personification is sown. The environment which was a part of the self, now becomes a set of other selves subject to the Law of Participation. Impersonality gives place to the personality in

# RELIGION AND ETHICS AMONG THE KONYAK NAGAS AND OTHER INDIAN TRIBES

By CHRISTOPH BARON VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

The interaction of religious belief and moral behaviour in primitive society is a problem that concerns not only the anthropologist, but also the student of human ethics and the scholar of the comparative history of religions and many controversial theories have been advanced as to the origin and nature of this connection. Anthropologists and philosophers favouring the application of evolutionary principles to the study of human culture assume that religion was born of the fear of unknown and deny that in the early stages of human development religion exercised any influence on practical ethics. The school of P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has compiled a large amount of material\* in support of the theory that those races representing the most ancient and primitive surviving types of human culture hold a common belief in a supreme being, who is deemed both creator and guardian of the moral code. According to this school it would seem that religion and ethics are closely linked in early human civilisation, but tend to become divorced from one another in certain more developed cultures. Between these two extreme schools of thought there ranges a great variety of theories, all endeavouring to uncover the root of the widespread belief in a divine sanction for the action of man.

In the solution of this problem anthropological data are undoubtedly of the utmost importance. Yet, if we search the descriptive works on primitive races we notice a scarcity of concrete examples bearing on the influence that religious beliefs exercise on human behaviour, and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether such influence is indeed lacking, or whether, though existing, it has not been recorded. Statements to the effect that a particular deity is entirely disinterested in human life and does not enjoy any cult should, in my opinion, be accepted with caution. For although we do find deities who are

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\* Cf. particularly P. W. Schmidt's "Der Ursprung der Gottesidee", 5 volumes Münster i. W. 1912-1938.

# MAN IN INDIA.

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Vol. XXII. } April—September, 1942. { Nos. 2 & 3.

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## I. THE EMBLEM OF THE BOAR.

By

DOROTHEA CHAPLIN, *F.S.A. (Scotland.)*

Boars make their appearance carved out of stone and incised on rocks in various parts of Britain, although, as discovered at the present time, they are not very numerous. Examples are the pillar-stone, called Knock-na-Gael, near Inverness, on which there is a *Boar*; the *Boar* carving on the rock-fortress at Dunadd, in Argyll, where the first Scottish king was crowned; *Hog-back* stones in St. Serf's chapel, on the Abercorn estate near Edinburgh; on the Isle of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, and in the churchyard of St. Andrew's, Penrith, Cumberland. The Isle of Inchcolm was formerly a great ecclesiastical centre. The *Boar* emblem seems to bear a close affinity to *Andrew*; the stones in Penrith appear to have formed a shrine possibly to Andrew in pre-Christian form.

On the oldest inner wall of St. David's Cathedral, South Wales, is a *Boar* carving, and it is likely that this and the shrine of *St. Andrew*, near to it, are of much greater age than the building itself. St. Andrew was the first Patron Saint or mythic character on that hallowed spot. The church of *St. Andrew Holborn*, London, was so old that the origin of its foundation is

unknown, and *St. Andrew Undershaft*, Cornhill, suggests the Fertility Cult with which *St. Andrew* was obviously connected. The *Undershaft* was the May-pole, a huge one which was placed outside the church for the celebration of May-day. May-pole revels in India have been in vogue for thousands of years, and last longer than in this country. The Pole (*Yupa*) represents the *Siva linga*, the Progenitor of Life, and is *Eight-sided*.

In the Middle Ages *Andrew* was called *Merrie Andrew*. He is definitely a pre-Christian figure, and was associated with the Maypole festivities and the Fertility Cult in general. He resembles *Nârada* of India, who, although a great sage and ascetic, is fond of playing practical jokes.

*Andersfield*, in Somerset, is possibly reminiscent of early times when certain fields were set apart for consecration. *St. Andreas (Kirk Andreas)*, a parish and village on the Isle of Man, possesses a modern church dedicated to *St. Andrew*. The name of the place, two Runic crosses in the churchyard, and several tumuli in the neighbourhood testify to the antiquity of the site.

*Bordesley* in Warwickshire, *Boreham*, in Hertfordshire, and *Burton-Overy*, in the hundred of Gartree, Leicestershire, *Burton-Pedwardine*, in the wapentake of Ashwardhurn, Lincolnshire, and *Burton-upon-Stather* in the same county all have *St. Andrew* as Patron. *Borstall*, in Buckinghamshire, has a *Boar* legend other place-names which may follow in the same mythological track are *Burwell*, in the hundred of Staplehoe, in the County of Cambridge, which may

have been the Well of the *Boar*, and which contains the united parishes of *St. Andrew* and *St. Mary*, also *Burwarton*, in Shropshire, which appears in *Domesday* as *Burertone*. This is likely to have originated from the Sanskrit word *Baraha* (Boar), the first "A" being pronounced like "U". This mythic animal seems thus to be closely connected with *Andrew* and to have left many philological tracks in its wake after its emblematic appearance in Britain. In the modern village of *Ferry Hill*, six and a half miles from Durham, there is the fragment of an old stone Cross, said to commemorate the valour of a certain *Roger de Ferry* who slew a monster in the shape of a wild Boar. Whether in earlier legends he killed the boar, or impersonated it the hill seems to have taken its name from the *Boar*, as also the hero, deriving them from the Sanskrit *Varaha* (Boar). The names *Ferring* (*St. Andrew*), in the rape of Arundel, Sussex, and *Frisby* (*St. Andrew*)<sup>1</sup> in the wapentake of Candleshoe, Lincolnshire, may also be allied to *Varaha*.

*St. Andrews*, Fife, containing the oldest university in Scotland, was called *Muckros* (Gaelic, *Muc*, Welsh, *Moch*, Boar), which is translated the Promontory of the Boars probably referred to the sacred *Boar*, and no other. "The dedication of the cathedral in *St. Andrews*, Fife, to *St. Andrew* is involved in fable."<sup>2</sup> ! In the coat-of-arms the figure of *St. Andrew*, Patron Saint of Scotland, appears with the Saltire of the Picts, or Cross of *St. Andrew* in the background.

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<sup>1</sup> The names of some of the churches mentioned are from Bell's *Gazetteer of England and Wales.*, published in 1837.

<sup>2</sup> *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, Vol. II., p 5,



Below the Cross are a Crescent a Tree and a *Boar*. As a symbol the Cross is pre-Christian as well as Christian, and the other symbols are all pre-Christian. The colours are *Blue* and *Silver*, those of the Picts. With the ancient peoples colours were often of deep religious significance. It has been explained by the Lyon Clerk, at the Court of the Lord Lyon in Edinburgh, that the actual Scottish flag is "Azure, a St. Andrew's Cross Argent", and that the cross is not, as usually represented, on a dark blue ground, but on a foundation of *sky-blue*. The flag is thus registered in the Public Register, as a Blue and Silver Badge of the Scottish nation.

*Grasmere*, in Westmorland, like St. Andrews, has a *Boar* in its coat-of-arms. The old name for Grasmere is *Grismere*, and it is said to mean "the Lake of Pigs", but is more likely to have been the Lake of the (sacred) *Boar* (Vedic Sanskrit, *Grishthi*=Boar).

Tracing the whereabouts of the symbolic *Boar* in the north-east of Scotland, we may notice that *Banff* resembles the Irish word *Banbh*, meaning a *Sucking Pig*, and that a *Piglet* appears in an old coat-of-arms of the town. The Croft of a *Muickan*, in Glengairn, in the Braes o' Mar,<sup>3</sup> Aberdeenshire, is called *Pig's Place*. This Pig or Boar must have been a sacred animal because a *Boar* legend is claimed both by *Glen Muick* and *Glen Cluny*. The *Muick* flowing through *Glen Muick* is a small tributary of the Dee. Mountain peaks in the neighbourhood also take the name of *Muick*. According to the *Glen Muick* legend, a child was stolen by a wild boar, which became its

<sup>3</sup> *Legends of the Braes o' Mar*,

foster-mother. When the boy was eventually restored to his parents he received the name of *Andrew*, in consequence of this episode, and the *MacAndrews* in the district claim descent from the *Boar* fosterling.

There is a *St. Ca's Well* in Glengairn, but the origin of this saint is lost in the mists of antiquity. *Ca* or *Ka* is *Brahmâ*, the Creator, first person of the Hindu trinity, who sometimes takes the form of a *Boar*. *Ka* is also the name of one of the three peaks of the sacred Mt. Meru in Central Asia, which "stands kissing the heavens by its height. It is graced with streams and trees and resounds with the charming melody of winged choirs".

*Ka* sometimes appears as *Daksha*, who may find a counterpart in *Degsa* of the *Degsastane* in *Darvoston*, near Jedburgh. *Degsa* may be the deifical ancestor of the families of *Daves* and *Dawson*.

<i>Keltic</i>	<i>Hindu</i>
Brom or Brian	Brahmâ, the Creator
Degsa	Daksha
Mon or Muni	Muni
Adr (Andrew)	Nârada

In a small book in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft one might have noticed that the name "Andrew" took the form of *Adr*, and the predecessor of *Adr* in the mythological world seems to have been *Nârada*, the names following one another as *Nârada*, *Adr*, *Ander* and *Andrew*. *Nârada* is a son of *Muni*, and it is rather remarkable that *Muni* is the old name for St. Davids where the first shrine was that of

*Andrew!* *Môn* or *Muni* is called the Mother of Wales, and the prefix *Mon* frequently occurs before the names of places which have been connected with some ecclesiastical centre, or where there are antiquarian relics. *Monymusk* and *Pittenweem* were sub-priories under the Priory of St. Andrews. *Loch Monivaird*, in Perthshire, and the parish of *Monivaird* contains "the varied remains of remote antiquity, "*Monifieth* is near the Car-hills where there are a number of cairns; and other examples of names with this prefix are *Monikie*, in Angus, and *Monimail*, in Fife, also *Monyash*, in Derbyshire. *Monaquillan*, in Tipperary, and *Monivea*, in Galway are Irish examples. *Kilmun*, in Argyll, seems allied to these in regard to nomenclature, and to have been a shrine to *Muni*.

Long before the Roman invasion of Britain this island was known to the Cymric people as *Y Wen Ynys* (the White Island). A White Island (*Sveta Dwipa*) is described in the *Mahābhārata*, and was seen by *Nārada* in a vision induced by "high Yoga puissance", although it was thousands of miles away. The Island was shown to *Nārada* by "the old sage" *Narayana*, and at his bidding, *Nārada*, in company with other sages visited *Sveta Dwipa*. *Nārada* was a delegate for *Narayana* (*Vishnu*) in his *Boar* incarnation. *Vishnu* is the second person of the Hindu trinity. The Island lay in a north-westerly direction as seen from the heights of Mt. Meru, in the Altai, then called Sumerian range of mountains in Central Asia. The Boar was chosen as the emblem of the Fertility Cult because boars actually prepared the land for the sowing of seeds by ploughing and fur-

rowing with their snouts long before Man's appearance on this terrestrial globe. The conception is both poetic and scientific. The cult includes the sowing of seeds of all descriptions, including intellectual seeds, but these, like the others, must be sown only in fertile (responsive) Soil.

*Auchtermuchty*, the name of a place in Fife, is translated "the Steep Land of the Boars", but again it is more likely that the word "boar" was originally in the Singular. There is no Boar in the coat-of-arms, but perhaps it is still more significant that, on an older one, is depicted "An husbandman Sowing". Here is a direct connection between the Boar and the Sowing of Seeds. In the arms of the Williamsons of Hutcheon-field there is a *Boar's Head* at the base of a *Saltire*, and in the crest is a *Sheaf of Wheat* lying on its side unbound.

Keltic symbols give evidence of a long chain of thought extending from India to America and the British Isles and, at a later period, to Western Europe.

*St. Bride* or *Brigit* is *Brité* of the Kelts, and obviously *Bhrati* or *Bharati* of India. Her festal day in the Christian Calendar is the first of February, but was formerly regulated by the movements of the moon, and more or less coincides with that of the *White* goddess, *Sarasvati*, in whom *Bharati* is contained. Innumerable places are named after *Bride* or *Brité*, among them *Bridport*, on the *River Brit*, in Dorset, *Birdham*, in Sussex, recorded in the *Domesday Book* as *Brideham*, and *Birdsall*, in Yorkshire which, in *Domesday*, is *Britëshale*. There are ancient earthworks on the chalk wolds opposite the village of *Birdsall*.

To sum up, the carving of the *Boar (Baraha)* is seen near the shrine of *Andrew (Nârada)*, in the town formerly known as *Muni* (the name of the *Mother of Nârada*), near the Bay of *St. Bride (Bharati)*, situated on the *White Island (Sveta Dwipa)* which, as perceived by *Nârada* from Mt. Meru, in Central Asia, lay in a *north-westerly* direction, very far away.

What other explanation can be offered for this sequence of mythological names ? The nomenclature, as in the case of many other groups of names in the British Isles, reflects certain mythological names connected with one another in Sanskrit literature. *Brité* (Britannia), otherwise *Alba*, personifies the White Island of Britain where *Vishnu* manifested himself as a *White Boar* !

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## II. THE MARRIAGE RITES OF THE BHILS IN THE NIMAR DISTRICT, C. P.

By

STEPHEN FUCHS, S. V. D.

The Bhils are a non-Aryan tribe, whose racial origin is by no means clear. The present "home of the Bhils is the country comprised in the hill ranges of Kandesh, Central India and Rajputana, west from the Satpuras to the sea in Gujarat. The total number of Bhils in India exceeds a million and a half, of which the great bulk belong to Bombay, Rajputana and Central India." (R. V. Russell and Hiralal: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, London, 1916, Vol. II, p. 278). According to the Census Report 1931 (*Census of India*, Vol. XII, C. P. & Berar, part II, p. 381) the Central Provinces and Berar are the home of only 30,325 Bhils, of whom 24,993 live in the Nimar District C. P.

The Bhils of the Nimar are, to their great majority, already so much Hinduised that they differ little from the lower cultivating Hindu castes. The few aboriginal Bhils of the district, the so-called Ratha Bhils, live in the hills and have no contact with the Hinduised Bhils, who consider them as inferior. The Hinduised Bhils maintain that they have nothing in common with the aboriginal Bhils except the name and most certainly do not descend from them. They claim to have come from the sea-coast of Gujarat.

According to their traditions their ancestor was Varya, a great thief and highway man. Through his robberies he had amassed great wealth and many wives. One day he began to get tired of his unlawful life. He asked his wives what he had to expect as a punishment for his crimes. They told him that he probably would go to hell and suffer severely. He then asked how they themselves would fare, for it was for them that he was robbing. They replied laughingly that they never had asked as to the source of his income and that they had no part in his crimes. Varya found these replies very distressing and withdrew to the jungle to do penance for his sins. One day, Mahadeo and Parvati passed through the same jungle on their pilgrimage to Kashi (Benares). Varya saw the gods and approached in the desire to be absolved of his sins. When he fell down before Mahadeo, to touch his feet, the god harshly ordered him to be off, for he knew that the Bhil was a great robber. But Varya never ceased to ask for pardon and followed the gods a long way on their pilgrimage. At last Parvati's heart was touched and she begged Mahadeo to forgive the penitent Bhil his sins. Mahadeo replied that Varya belonged to a caste, which nobody could rely upon. To-day these Bhils might be sorry and repent their crimes, but to-morrow they would return to their evil life and be worse than before. To forgive them would be weakness. But as Varya continued to ask for pardon, in order to get rid of him Mahadeo told him angrily to stay where he was and to walk for penance round an Achar tree (*Buchanania latifolia*), till he himself bade him stop. Mahadeo thought that the Bhil would soon

get tired of walking around the tree and go away.

After a lapse of twelve years, on their return from Kashi, Mahadeo and Parvati passed through the same jungle. When they reached the spot, where they had left the Bhil walking around the tree, Parvati reminded Mahadeo of his penitent and wanted to see, whether the Bhil was still doing penance. Mahadeo would have passed on for he had not the least doubt that the Bhil had returned to his old metier. But to please his wife, Mahadeo looked for the tree of the Bhil's penance. When the gods approached the tree, they saw to their great astonishment a deep ditch running right round the tree. Looking down to the bottom of the ditch they perceived Vārya, the Bhil, still walking round. During the twelve years of his penance the ground under his never—resting feet had given way and sunk 300 *hath* (600 feet). Mahadeo, touched by the sincerity of the Bhil's repentance, caught him by the scalp lock and lifted him out of the ditch. He forgave him his sins and bade him settle in the country. This is how the Bhils came to live in the Narbadda valley.

It is quite probable that the Bhils, living in the plains of Gujarat, were the first to succumb to the influence of Hinduism. When their number increased, owing to the higher culture and better conditions of life in the plains, they wandered eastwards, along the Narbadda river and settled in the country north and south of the river, pushing the aboriginal Bhils and other hill tribes back to the hills and jungles. The Bhils of the Nimar district of the Central Provinces are the easternmost group of these Hinduised Bhils, north of the Tapti river.



In the following pages the marriage rites of these Bhils are described. They have been related by two *jat-patels* (caste-headmen), Parvat and Ittal by name, living at Kharwa, a village about 15 miles east of Khandwa. Their report has been verified by other Bhils of the district.

### I. The Betrothal.

The betrothal of a Bhil boy usually takes place when he is about ten or twelve years of age, while a girl is betrothed from the age of five to seven years. Neither the boy nor the girl is informed of the intention of their parents to arrange their marriage nor have they any right of choosing their own partners. The betrothal of the children is entirely the affair of the parents, and romance is not allowed to play a part in it.

#### 1. Preliminaries to the betrothal (*Chhoti mangni*).

When a boy attains marriageable age, his father (or after his death the elder brother) is on the look-out for a suitable bride for him. Relatives and friends, or sometimes professional match-makers, help him to select the right girl. As a rule, the Bhils prefer daughters-in-law from a distant village, to avoid the interference of the young woman's relatives, later on, in case she does not find everything to her liking in her new home.

Occasionally, at a wedding or a funeral banquet, the fathers of a boy and a girl get acquainted, and each is informed of the other's character, family and economic status by mutual friends. If this first acquaintance turns out favourable to a future union,

the boy's father expresses his desire to see the girl in question. Also the girl's father wants to know if the prospective husband of his daughter is sound in limb and mind and under some pretence pays an occasional visit to the boy's father.

If the enquiries made are satisfactory, the Brahman is consulted to cast the horoscope of the boy and the girl concerned. If the constellation of their stars appears favourable to a marriage, the betrothal is arranged soon. However, a bad forecast does not deter the Bhils from a betrothal, if it is otherwise satisfactory. The evil chances of an unlucky horoscope are made innocuous by giving alms (*dan*), consisting of a coconut, *supari* (betelnut), a small coin and grain, either to the Brahman or to a poor relative or beggar.

The question of mutual relationship is discussed next. The Nimar Bhils, as other Hindu castes, have their own *bhat* (registrar), who keeps the family registers and yearly enters the names of new-born children in his book, and registers the marriages performed since the time of his last visit. The *bhat* of the Nimar Bhils lives in the Malva district of the Holkar State and comes every year to complete his register. This *bhat* is consulted, in case of doubt, whether a relationship in a forbidding degree does exist or not. But this is necessary in rare cases only, for the Bhils generally know very well to whom they are related and in which degree.

A Bhil cannot marry a girl of his own clan (*kul*) nor of the clan of his mother. Blood-relationship up to the fifth degree makes a marriage impossible, while

affinity up to the third degree is an impediment. Moreover, a widow cannot marry any man of the *kul* of her former husband, while no such impediment exists for a widower in regard to the clan of his first wife. He is even allowed to marry the younger sisters of his first wife, at the same time or successively, but not her elder sisters who are considered to be in a relation to him much the same as his mother-in-law.

After these preliminary questions have been settled at a first or second meeting (*chhoti mangni*), the date for the official betrothal (*bari mangni* or *sagai*) is fixed. It generally takes place in the month of *Srawan* (July—August), on a Sunday, sometimes also on a Monday or Saturday, but never on a Tuesday, which is an unauspicious day. The Bhils consider Sunday as the most auspicious day of the week, and therefore like to settle all their major affairs on a Sunday. Even the main parts of their field-work, as ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting, are begun on a Sunday; no loans are given nor asked for on this day, and no Bhil will buy or sell anything on a Sunday before sunset, except at the bazaar.

## 2. The betrothal (*bari mangni* or *sagai*).

On the day fixed for the betrothal, the boy's father, accompanied by a few friends or relatives, proceeds to the village, where the father of the girl lives. He brings along with him some clothes for the girl, *dhupiti* (or *urni*, short veil), *ghagri* (petticoat), *choli* (bodice), sweetmeat and spices, a coconut and *kuku* (red powder).

Late in the afternoon the party arrives at their destination. The men—the future bridegroom has been left at home—are received by the girl's father before his house. Soon the members of the village *panchayat* (council) are called together. After they have assembled, the boy's father puts on a brass plate (*prat*) the clothes for the girl, the other presents and two and a quarter Rupees for the *panch*. The money is called *gurbad* and is used to buy *gur* (coarse sugar) for the meal after the betrothal.

Before the girl's father accepts the plate with the presents, which the boy's father offers him, the headman of the *panch* gets up, dips his thumb in the red *kuku* powder on the plate and rubs his finger over the forehead of the boy's father, from the point between the eyebrows upwards. In the same manner he paints also the father of the girl and the other men present. The boy's father pays him two annas for doing it.

Now the plate with the clothes, spices and other presents are handed on to the women of the house who have been waiting a little apart, singing among themselves. The money is taken by a villager who is told to buy the required *gur* from the local shop. The women withdraw to the interior of the house, where the girl is dressed in the new clothes for the betrothal. After the dressing the girl is brought by the singing women before the boy's father. A sheet is spread on the ground before his seat and the girl is told to sit down. The boy's father cracks a coconut, takes one half of the fruit, puts two annas in its hole and lays it into the lap of the

girl who is told to lift up the corners of her veil. A woman approaches, dips her fingers into the *kuku* powder and rubs them across the forehead of the girl. Then she applies the ceremonial paint on the forehead of the other women who meanwhile sing one of the endless marriage songs. After that the girl is led away and the betrothal is over. The girl is allowed to eat the coconut presented to her and the sweets on the plate, while the two annas go to the family purse.

While the betrothal is taking place, some men are busy with the preparation of the meal, of which all those attending the ceremony partake. The main dish consists of *gur*, which has been bought with the two and a quarter rupees called *gurbad*. Through this meal the kinsmen of the boy and those of the girl become relatives: *hittu bhai*. The father of the boy and that of the girl call each other *samdhi*.

Occasionally also country liquor (*daru*) is served at a betrothal, but this custom has now gone somewhat out of fashion. Generally the Bhils can ill afford such expenses nowadays, and they also like to imitate the higher Hindu castes, who abstain from drinking liquor.

After the meal, guests and villagers sit together to a friendly chat, till it is time to go to bed. Early next morning the guests get up, take a light repast and return home.

The interval between betrothal and marriage may be anything from a few weeks to several years. During this time the father of the boy must twice a

year send clothes for the girl, on *Holi* (in March) and on *Raki* (in July-August). If he fails to send the clothes for any reason, the betrothal is not dissolved automatically, as in other castes, but the father of the girl enquires, why the clothes have not been sent.

The betrothal may be dissolved by both parties for any plausible reason. If a better match is in view for the boy or girl, or in consequence of a quarrel between relatives of the betrothed children, or in case of a lasting or disfiguring sickness of one of the betrothed. As in the contract of a betrothal, also in its breaking-up the betrothed children have no influence whatever. It seldom happens that they see each other at all till the wedding day.

## II. The marriage.

The marriage of a Bhil boy is usually celebrated, when he is about ten or 14 years of age, while his bride is a few years younger. In recent times the marriage of a boy is often delayed for want of money. The father is then obliged to wait for the marriage, till he can put his son to service with a landlord who employs him for a year and gives either half or the whole pay in advance, charging the usual interest of 25 p. c.

The marriage takes place in the months of *pus* (January) and *magh* (February) till *Holi* in *phagun* (March) and in the month of *baisakh* (April). These months are those just after the harvesting seasons, when the Bhils have some money in their hands.

The day of the wedding is fixed by a Brahman, whom the Bhils never fail to consult for the most auspicious day. The marriage is most often celebrated on a Sunday, but any other day of the week will do as well, except a Thursday.

1. Payment of the bride-price (*dejh-kandai*)

Four to six days, before the wedding actually takes place, the bride-price must be paid by the bridegroom's father. The payment is delayed till a few days before the marriage, to avoid the money being wasted by the girl's father for other purposes. For this money should be used to cover the wedding expenses, which are high for the girl's father.

For the payment of the bride-price, the bridegroom's father proceeds to the village, where the bride's father lives, accompanied by some members of his own village *panch*, who act as witnesses. On their arrival the village council is called together to fix the amount of the bride-price. Usually between Rs. 40 to 50 is paid by the boy's father, after the usual bargaining, of which also the Bhils are very fond. When the sum, agreed upon, has been handed over to the bride's father, then the *panch* members also receive one or two rupees, as a fee for their assistance in the bargain. After a meal the bridegroom's father departs with his companions.

2. The anointment with *haldi*.

Five days before the wedding day, the bridegroom as well as the bride are anointed with *haldi* (turmeric). The Bhils do not know the deeper meaning of this ceremony, they simply follow the custom of their

fore-fathers. Immediately before the first anointment takes place, in the afternoon, a strange ceremony is performed, which is called *khanpati*. A younger brother or cousin of the boy, respectively of the girl, takes a *kusla*, the iron top of the wooden plough-share, and digs up the ground before the main entrance of the house. Women come and while singing take up some handfuls of the mud, which they put on a plate, containing the usual ingredients for an offering: *kuku*, raw rice, *pan*, *joari* (millet) flour, *supari* (betelnut) and a paisa. The plate is taken into the house, where the boy, or the girl, is now anointed with *haldi*.

The boy, or girl, is told to sit down on the bare ground in the middle of the main room. The women squat down around him (or her). A sheet is spread over the child, whose dress is loosened under the covering. Then singing, the women dip their hands in a pot full of the *haldi* paste and anoint the child all over the body, beginning with the little finger of the left hand.

After the anointment, the boy dons an old and dirty loincloth and an equally ragged shirt. A long silver chain and a solid neck-ring (*takli*), both woman's ornaments, are put around his neck. In his hand he must carry a short dagger (*katthar*) with a broad steel blade, covered by a red cloth sheath, and a handle with a hole to pass the fingers through. Two small bags are attached to the dagger, one of which contains spices for a *pan* (betel leaf), the other a small coin. Sometimes this knife is carried like a sword on the left hip, attached to a string hanging from the right shoulder.



The girl likewise is clad in an old petticoat and a dirty veil (*dhupti*), in a corner of which a knife is tied as a protective magic against the evil spirits wanting to harm children especially in these critical days before the marriage.

Next morning, the boy as well as the girl, are again anointed with *haldi*. This ceremony is repeated daily till the wedding day.

In the evening, a relative of the boy, and the girl, takes him (or her) on his hip and, accompanied by other relatives, walks through the village while the people are singing and beating drums. The villagers whom they meet or visit, give them some small presents. The marriage procession is repeated on the following two days, each time taking a longer way from the native house.

All these ceremonies, common also among other Hindu castes, are carried out by the Bhils without knowledge of their deeper meaning. They are not able to give an explanation of these rites, but have adopted them in imitation of the Hindu marriage rites.

### 3. The building of the marriage hut (*mandap*).

Three days before the wedding day, the father of the boy, respectively of the girl, calls one man of each house of his caste fellows in the village, for the building of the marriage hut (*mandap*). All the men get on a bullock-cart and proceed to the nearest jungle, to cut the *mandap* trees. Twelve posts of *salai* wood (*Boswellia thurifera*) are required for the *mandap*, erected before the bride's house, while nine posts are sufficient for the bridegroom's *mandap*. After the

trees have been felled, without any ceremony, they are loaded on the cart and brought to the village.

The marriage hut is built late in the afternoon. It resembles a watch hut in the fields and is erected before the main entrance of the house. Its ground plan consists of a square with an equal number of posts on each side. The posts are firmly rammed in the ground and connected with cross beams. The whole frame work is tied with bark ropes and its roof covered with branches and leaves of the *salai* tree. When the posts are erected, *kuku* is applied to them, on a spot just above the ground. In the middle of the *mandap* a post, longer and stronger than the others, is erected, which rises about three feet over the roof of the *mandap*. The top leaves of this tree have not been removed, and a red cloth, in which a coin is tied, and a *lota* (small brass pot) are attached to the top of it.

No offerings, common at this occasion among other castes, are performed by the Bhils during the building of the marriage hut. Nor have they knowledge of a deeper meaning of the *mandap*, except to provide shade during the performance of the wedding ceremonies and to indicate to all the world, that a marriage is celebrated in this house.

The men who have helped in the building of the *mandap*, are invited to a meal late in the evening. After the meal they usually sing and are merry. At about midnight the father of the groom, respectively of the bride, ties five white cotton threads between four posts of the *mandap*, including the middle post. Mango leaves are attached to the threads, to ward off the evil spirits.

4. THE MARRIAGE (*lagin*).

On the wedding day, before the departure to the village, where the bride lives, the bridegroom takes a bath. Then he dons a new white loincloth, a shirt, of silk, if available, a bright red waistcoat or a long red coat and a turban, consisting of two, white and red, strips of cloth, wrapped in narrow stripes around the head. Over his forehead he wears the *maul*, the nuptial crown, of paper, crudely adorned with gold and silver tassels, long trimmings and borders, which hang down and partially cover the face. Round his wrist he wears a red hair string, to which a *mendal* fruit is attached, wrapped in a red cloth. It is called *kakan* and has the same significance as the wedding ring in the western countries.

In such an attire the bridegroom is led before the *mandap*. There a sheet is hung up between two posts of the *mandap*, reaching as high as the groom's chest. He is told to stand outside the *mandap*, facing the sheet. His mother approaches from within and, reaching over or under the cloth, touches successively his head and his feet three (or seven) times with a butter-twirler, a grain-pestle, a winnowing fan and a broom. Then *kuku* is applied first to the poles, to which the sheet is tied, then to the forehead of the bridegroom. The women embrace him, taking leave of him.

In the meantime the men have made ready the bullock-carts, and the bridegroom now takes his place in the first of many gaily coloured carts, while the little brass bells tinkle on the necks of the

bullocks, impatiently waiting for the start. At last all the relatives and friends climb on the carts, the women in new dresses, with silver ornaments in nose, ears and hair, on arms and legs. Also the men are dressed up to the occasion, as well as their means allow it.

The departure of the wedding party (called *barat*) is so timed, that the village, where the marriage shall take place, is reached late in the afternoon. When the bullock carts begin to move, the women start singing one of their monotonous and endless songs. A short stop is made just outside the village, at the shrine of Hanuman, the village god. The bridegroom alights and offers a coconut to invoke the blessing of the god for his wedding. Then he climbs again on the cart and on goes the procession of the carts. One bullock-cart follows the other closely in a merry race, the neck bells of the bullocks jingle and tinkle, the cart-drivers shout and click their tongues, the women sing unflaggingly.

On arrival at the village of their destination, the *barat* party alights and is received by the father of the bride, accompanied by relatives and villagers. The men embrace and greet each other with "Ram ! Ram" Then the guests are led to a house in some distance from the nuptial house. This house, called *janwasa*, has been specially prepared for the wedding guests.

After a short while, the guests are invited to partake of a meal, which has been prepared in the house of the bride. In the meantime the bride is dressed in the bridal clothes, which the bride-

groom's father has brought along and handed over to the bride's father. The girl is adorned with as many silver ornaments as her family can afford to provide for her. Also the bride wears the *kakan* around the wrist of her right arm.

When the bride is dressed, she is led to the marriage hut. Before her face she wears the crown (*maul*), which is smaller than that of the bridegroom, but big enough to cover half her face. Now the same ceremony is performed by her mother, which had taken place in the house of the bridegroom, immediately before he took leave. A cloth is hung up between two posts of the marriage *mandap*, and the mother touches her daughter's forehead and feet with a butter-twirler, a grain-pestle, a winnowing fan and a broom. The Bhils do not know the meaning of this ceremony.

Now, word is sent to the *janwasa*, to bring the bridegroom to the marriage hut. A gay procession is formed and, with drumming and sometimes music playing, the bridegroom is carried, sitting on the hip of a near relative, to the *mandap*. There a white sheet is spread on the ground and bride and groom told to sit down side by side. Women come and put a cloth over the shoulders of the bridegroom. Then a woman ties the corner of the bridegroom's shoulder-cloth with the end of the bride's veil. Another woman takes the right hand of the bride and joins it with the right hand of the bridegroom. It is just about the time of sunset. The moment, the sun disappears under the horizon, the hands are separated—the marriage is closed! During the whole ceremony no

blessing is given and no invocation of the gods is pronounced.

After that, bride and bridegroom are separated, the bride is led back into the house, while the bridegroom returns to the *janwasa*. Late in the evening, the marriage banquet takes place, of which the relatives of the bride, the wedding guests with the bridegroom and all the caste fellows of the village partake. Men and women sit apart. The bridegroom who has taken off his nuptial crown, sits among the men on a place of honour, while the bride keeps to the women. The bridegroom is served first: rice, *gur*, ghee and sugar. After him the other guests are served. The bridegroom begins to eat, then the others follow.

When the meal is over, the men begin to sing and to dance till late in the night. The women attend either the entertainment of the men or form their own groups of singers and dancers. The Bhils, like other Hindus, do not dance in groups, but single, in the Hindu fashion. When they feel tired, they go to sleep, the guests of the bride retire to the house bride's of the bride, while the bridegroom and his relatives withdraw to the *janwasa*.

The next morning the bridegroom is brought to the well by his relatives, where he takes a bath and then dresses. On his return to the *janwasa*, the relatives of the bride and the members of the village *panch* assemble. The bridegroom's father is now expected to give some presents to the *panch*, and to all persons who have somehow assisted in the performance of the marriage ceremonies.

After that, money is collected from the guests for another banquet, in which goat's meat and wheat cakes are served. When all have had their fill, a cloth is spread on the floor of the *mandap* of the *janwasa*. The bridegroom sits down on the cloth. His relatives come and offer him their wedding presents: a brass plate or a brass pot (*lota*), money or jewels for himself or his bride. Everybody gives according to his means. In olden times a Bhil bridegroom got presents to the value of some hundreds of rupees, but nowadays he must be content with much less.

When the presentation of the wedding gifts is over, the bride, well dressed up, is brought to the *janwasa*. Bride and bridegroom sit down on a cloth, facing each other, while the women squat around them and sing. A handful of *joari* grain is given to both and they are told to throw the grains into each other's face. Both, bride and bridegroom, wear the nuptial crown, when this ceremony is performed. The Bhils do not know the meaning of it. It is called *chichoria*.

Then the newly-wed, accompanied by their relatives, go to the landlord or *patel* (headman) of the village, to pay their respects. They offer him a rupee and a coconut and touch his feet in greeting. The landlord or *patel* gives in return a small present in cash or kind. After that the shrine of Hanuman is visited where the bridegroom cracks a coconut as an offering and takes off the *mendal* fruit attached to his wrist. Also the bride offers her *kakan* to the village god.

In the meantime the bullock-carts have been made ready for the departure of the wedding guests. The relatives of the bridegroom take their leave, the men embrace each other with "Ram! Ram!", while the bride, with many tears, embraces her mother and other female relatives and friends. The men interrupt the endless mourning songs and sobs of the women and place the girl on the bullock-cart, at the side of her boy-husband. The bullocks start to move and to the loud shouts of the villagers and relatives of the bride the wedding guests depart for their home. The bride goes with her husband quite alone, without being accompanied by any of her own relatives.

The morning after the arrival in the village, the bride is brought to the *patel* and other important men of the village, whom she greets by touching their feet with folded hands. Then in the village of her own caste fellows she goes from house to house and greets men and women, receiving small gifts of money and grain from them.

5. The return of the bride to her father's house (*baurha*).

The young bride stays two to four days in the house of her boy-husband. Then her relatives come to fetch her. The guests arrive late in the afternoon. After a chat and a good meal, they go to rest. The next morning the village *panch* is summoned and assemble at the house, where the guests have slept during the night. The bride's father pays a few Rupees to the *panch*, and to the men and women who had taken part in the marriage preparations. Then



a meal is given by the bridegroom's father to the guests and the caste fellows of the village. If the host can afford it, goat's meat is served with wheat cakes, roasted in ghee.

Soon after the banquet the guests take leave, taking the young girl along with them. From this day on she lives at her father's house till to her first menstruation. Except for a few short visits she does not see her husband again, unless they live in the same village. It is thought improper for her to show any attachment to her husband. And usually the girl is still too young to care for him.

#### 6. The consummation of the marriage (*ana*).

Soon after the girl's first menstruation her father-in-law is informed that the girl has come of age and is fit to begin the married life. In the month of *chait* (March—April) or *srawan* (July—August) the father of the bridegroom comes with a few other men and the bridegroom himself, to fetch the girl who is about 14 years of age. Since the guests arrive late in the evening, they soon retire after a good meal. Early next morning they get ready to leave with the girl. Her father gives her as a dowry a petticoat, a bodice, a veil and a sheet, in which all her belongings are wrapped. If the father is a wealthy man, he adds also a few cooking pots, brass plates, silver ornaments and sometimes even a cow or a calf.

The girl now takes leave from her parents and other relatives. The women embrace her, with loud wailing and long mourning songs. The departing girl too feels very sad, for now she leaves her own home for good and will only occasionally return to her father's

house for a short visit. Her male relatives, even her father, constrain any signs of grief, although they too feel very sorry about the departure of the girl. Her father-in-law naturally tries to cut short the painful scene. Once the girl has climbed on the bullock-cart, he drives off quickly. The girl's sobbing and the women's wailing, however, soon cease after the departure. But several times during the day, the women begin to cry again, when reminded of the girl.

On the girl's arrival at the village, where her husband lives, she is warmly welcomed by her husband's female relatives. The arrival of the young wife in her husband's home is called *ana* (coming).

At night she sleeps for the first time with her husband. For three nights the young couple sleep on the ground, in a corner of the house, which is partitioned off for them by a mat or cloth, to give them some privacy. From this first night till to two months before she gives birth to her first child, husband and wife should always sleep together on the same bed, except on the days of the young woman's menstruation, when she is considered unclean.

The marriage of a Bhil couple is not the consequence of mutual love and liking. Husband and wife scarcely know each other, for choice of partners has not been allowed to them. The marriage has been arranged by their parents, at an age, when both, boy and girl, took little interest in the whole affair. But gradually the two get to know each other and often liking, and even love, begins to rise between them. Both are still young and tender enough to be mutually influenced. That helps much to make their marriage a happy one.

In a Bhil family the husband is supposed to be the master of the house. But this he is only, if he does not stay in his father's house, for otherwise he has little to say and his wife still less. Often a young woman has much to complain against her mother-in-law who usually makes her do all the heavy and dirty work of the household. Often she is scolded severely even for the slightest fault.

The position of a young woman in her father-in-law's house is clearly defined by custom. She has to keep her distance from her father-in-law, with whom she should never be alone in the house. He is not allowed to touch her, much less to beat her. Such an action would be punished with expulsion from the caste. However, after the young woman has given birth to two or three children, these rigid laws of conduct are somewhat mitigated and she is allowed to talk to him, to serve him his meal and even to wash his clothes.

The young woman's relation with the elder brothers of her husband are much the same as to her father-in-law, while no restrictions are imposed on her in regard to the younger brothers of her husband, with whom she can freely converse. She is not allowed to talk to any young man except her own near relatives. This rule is to be strictly observed in the first year of her married life, else she will get a beating from her husband.

Two or three months after the consummation of the marriage, the young woman is visited by her father or elder brother. He has come to take her

home for a few days. At home she tells her mother or elder sister-in-law, how she is treated by her husband and his family. When her husband comes to fetch her, he is taken aside by one of the women of the house and is told, of what his wife had to complain. But if the woman has actually been ill-treated, her parents invent a pretence not to send their daughter along with her husband. He is told to come later. When he calls again to get his wife back, the parents usually send their daughter, even if she refuses to go. But the husband is warned to treat her better, else they would take her back for good and consider a divorce necessary. Although such unhappy marriages do occur sometimes and husband and wife may find out right from the beginning of their married life that they do not go well together, such cases are exceptions. The ideal of a Bhil marriage is harmony and peace till to the end of their life.

### III. The widow marriage (*nadra*).

Bhil widows are allowed to remarry. As no woman can go twice through the *barat* wedding ceremonies, also a divorced woman is married according to the *nadra* rites, as the widow marriage is called. A widow, whose husband has died, before the marriage was consummated, cannot remarry until after her first menstruation. The reason for this is that the conjugal life begins immediately after the marriage. A widow or divorced woman cannot be married to a man who has not yet married another woman according to the *barat* rites, while a widower can always marry a virgin girl according to the *barat* rites.

1. THE BETROTHAL ( *sagai* ).

If a man wants to remarry, his relatives are on the look-out for a suitable bride for him. When she is found, the prospective bridegroom, accompanied by some relatives and members of the *panch* proceed to the village, where the woman lives. Her father, or another near relative, is informed of the arrival by a go-between. If the father is inclined to consider the proposals, he invites the guests to the house of a neighbour. There the meeting takes place, in the absence of the woman in question. She is, however, informed of the proposal and sometimes even gets a glance at her prospective husband. But if she refuses to marry him, the negotiations are broken off at once; only in the case of a former liaison can she be forced by her relatives to a marriage with any man they assign for her.

But if she consents to the marriage, the amount of the bride-price is discussed. The amount of money, paid for a widow, varies much and depends on her age, looks and reputation. Generally twice or three times the sum, paid for a virgin girl, is demanded for a widow. But if she has any defects, the bride-price for a widow may be as low as Rs. 10. After the amount of the bride-price has been settled, at least a quarter of the sum, agreed upon, must be paid at once. Only then is the woman called. As a sign of the betrothal the bridegroom puts a ring (*mundi*) on the little finger of his bride's right hand.

Then a meal is prepared for the guests at the bride's house, for which the bridegroom's father pays. It is called *gurbad* and consists of rice, *gur*, ghee and sugar. After the meal the guests take leave.

The betrothal of a widow may take place any day of the week, except on a Tuesday. There is no closed season for a *nadra pad*, although the months after the harvest are naturally the most convenient time to arrange such a match.

The wedding takes place soon after the betrothal.

## 2. The marriage (*nadra pad*).

The wedding day of a Bhil widow is always a Sunday. The bridegroom's party arrive in the evening. Only a few relatives and friends come with the bridegroom. Women do not accompany the bridegroom. After the reception of the bridegroom and his companions by the father or brother of the bride, guests and villagers partake of a meal, in which goat's meat and wheat cakes are served. Sometimes even country liquor is bought, if the host is wealthy.

After the meal the wedding guests are brought to the *janwasa*, a house prepared for the guests. But no marriage *mandap* is erected there nor at the bride's house. Now the members of the village *panch* are called together and in their presence the remainder of the bride-price is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The *panch* members too get their dues, which vary according to the amount of the bride-price. At the same time also the clothes for the bride are handed over by the

bridegroom's father to the nearest relative of the bride.

Although it is now already near to midnight, the actual marriage does not yet take place. At about three o'clock in the morning the men proceed to the bride's house, to witness the marriage. The bride has been dressed up by a widow in the clothes, which her bridegroom had brought along. Now she also wears the silver ornaments, which she had to take off at the death of her former husband. When the bride appears, accompanied by a widow, the bridegroom is told to step at her side. Both sit down on a white sheet, spread on the ground before the main entrance of the house. The serving widow puts a sheet over the shoulders of the bridegroom and ties a corner of the cloth with the veil of the bride. Then she rubs *kuku* on the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom, for which performance she gets a small present. The other women meanwhile sing one of their wedding songs.

Now the two are told to get up. Accompanied by two widows, they are led to the main street of the village, there the widows paint their foreheads with cow-dung. After that they are brought to a threshing floor, where they are left alone. Here the newly married have their first cohabitation.

Next morning both are visited and fed by the widows, while the wedding guests eat in the *janwasa*. Straight from the threshing floor the newly-wed pair leaves for home, after having taken leave from the relatives of the bride.

On arrival in the village of her husband, the young wife greets the female relatives of her husband by touching their feet. Then she is accompanied by the women to the well, where she fills a big water pot and a small brass pot (*lota*) with water and carries both pots to her new home. This water is used to prepare the first meal for the newly wed couple.

3. The returning of the bride to her father's home (*baurha*).

After eight days the father (or brother) of the young woman comes to fetch her home. He, with several companions, is received hospitably and entertained well. When he leaves with his daughter, he invites his son-in-law, to come after a fortnight for his wife.

The son-in-law is expected to come alone to his wife's home. He brings some presents along for his wife : clothes, arm-rings and silver ornaments. His father-in-law receives him friendly and gives him as a present a new loin-cloth or a turban. After a few days, the young husband takes leave from his father-in-law, whome he embraces. He touches the feet of his mother-in-law and of other women in the house. His wife embraces her mother and other relatives weeping and mourning aloud. For she knows she will only occasionally return to her father's house for a short visit.

#### IV. Other forms of marriage.

1. Service for a wife (*ghar jawai*).

If a man is too poor to arrange his son's marriage, other relatives sometimes pay the marriage expenses.



This is considered a very meritorious act. If, however, a boy has no relatives who are willing to help, and if he himself cannot find anybody who might advance him the required money, he sometimes offers himself to the father of a suitable girl to work in his house. Parents with some property, but no male offspring, often take a boy as *ghar-jawai*. He later on marries a daughter of theirs and inherits the whole property.

The marriage of such a boy is arranged and paid for by the bride's father. It is usually celebrated with less display and fewer expenses; the relatives of the bridegroom are not invited to take part in it.

As long as his girl-wife is still small, the young man is not allowed to get familiar with her. Only after her first menstruation they begin to live together.

*Ghar-jawai* is not very common, for there is always the danger that a boy, after having worked for a long time in the house of his future father-in-law, is turned out of the house without adequate compensation.

## 2. Irregular forms of marriage.

If a woman, widowed or divorced, has a love-affair with a certain man of her own caste, and becomes pregnant, she can force him to marry her. She informs the headman of the *panch* that she is with child. Before the whole *panch* the woman is made to announce the name of her lover. If the man denies the fact and can prove his innocence, the woman is expelled from the caste till she tells the truth. But if the man admits his guilt and is ready to marry the

woman, he pays a much reduced bride-price to her relatives and gives a banquet to the villagers in punishment. The *panch* receives also a few rupees. If the man refuses to marry the woman for any reason, he is expelled from the caste and punished severely. The woman too is excommunicated and can only be re-taken into the caste, after the child has been born and weaned. It is given away to somebody else, who adopts it, while the woman is given in marriage to any man who wants her.

Sometimes a widowed or divorced woman goes in the evening to the house of a marriageable man and tells him that she wants to live with him. He cannot turn her out, but if he is not willing to keep her, he must leave his own house and stay over night with a relative or neighbour. If he keeps her for the night, the marriage is considered to be performed by this action. In the morning the matter is brought before the village-council. The woman is asked, whether she entered the house of the man by her own free will. If she affirms it, the affair is settled. The man has only to give a banquet to the villagers, but no bride-price can be demanded from him.

### 3. Polygamy.

A Bhil may keep two or more wives at the same time. Generally a second wife is taken only, if the first wife fails to give birth to a son. However, the second wife must be married according to the *nadrapad* rite, she, then, is either a widow or a divorced woman.

The husband usually lives with his wives in a common household. The first wife remains mistress

and leaves the dirty and heavy work of the household to the second wife. Her children have preference before the children of the second wife, except that a son of the second wife is preferred to a daughter of the first wife. It is he who inherits all the property of the family, while the daughters of the first wife get nothing.

The bride-price for a second wife is usually high, for parents seldom like to marry her daughter to a man who has already a wife, knowing that her life will not be an easy one.

## V. Premarital relations.

### 1. Between the married partners.

Sexual intercourse between the married partners is allowed only, after the *ana* ceremony has been performed. If boy and girl become too intimate on occasion of a visit, or on living in the same village, they are scolded by their elders, although not punished.

### 2. With others.

If a boy has a love-affair with a married woman or widow and she becomes pregnant, he cannot marry her and consequently is punished with expulsion from the caste. For he is a *kunwara* (virgin) and must first marry a virgin girl according to the *barat* rites, before he can marry a divorced or widowed woman.

A yet unmarried girl (*kunwari*) who becomes pregnant, is expelled from the caste and family and never taken back. This is one of the main reasons, why the Bhils in the Nimar practice child-marriage. Their poverty compels them to let their daughters go

go out to work in the fields, comparatively unprotected. If a married girl becomes pregnant, before the *ana* ceremony is performed, she is quickly sent to her husband, before the fact becomes known. But if the girl were still unmarried, the fact could not be hushed up.

A widow who has a love-affair with a marriageable man, is married to him or to another man, if the case is detected.

However, if a girl or woman has a liaison with a man of another caste—higher or lower than a Bhil—she is expelled from the caste and never retaken. So the Bhils maintain, although it is doubtful, whether the Bhils are so strict, in case the man is of higher caste.

A man who goes to a woman of a lower caste than his own, is expelled from the caste and only retaken after having paid a fine to the *panch* and given a banquet to his caste fellows. Three times, when caught with the same woman, he will be forgiven ; but if he continues to break this caste rule, he will be expelled for ever. If the woman, whom he loves, is of a higher caste than his own, no punishment is given by the *panch*.

## VI. Adultery.

If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she cannot accuse him before the *panch*, but she may run away and return to her parents who will send her back, after her husband has promised amendment. But if she again and again returns to her parents, a divorce will be the result of the man's unfaithfulness.

If a married woman is unfaithful, the husband can bring the matter before the *panch* and demand the punishment of her lover. But if he keeps quiet, the *panch* cannot interfere, even if everybody knows about the affair.

The Bhils maintain that such cases are rare and the culprits punished severely, if caught. In large bazaar villages, however, it seems that the reputation of the Bhil women is not very high.

## VII. Divorce.

No marriage can be dissolved in the time between the marriage and the consummation of the marriage, between *lagin* and *ana*. Only after the performance of the *ana* ceremony is a divorce possible.

If a man gets tired of his wife, he may send her back to her parents. If he does not come to fetch her, after a repeated invitation of her parents, the woman may remarry. He, then, cannot demand the restoration of the bride-price. A Bhil cannot give his wife to another man and take money for her. Such a deed would be punished with expulsion from the caste. It is the exclusive right of the woman's family to marry her to another man.

If a woman cannot get along with her husband, she will run away and return to her parents. If she refuses to return to him, or runs away again, her parents will demand a divorce. The members of her village *panch* lead the discussion with the men who come with her husband to settle the case. The father (or brother) of the woman has to pay a certain compen-

sation, the exact amount of which is fixed after much bargaining. The money must be paid, before the woman can remarry.

The Bhils maintain that a divorce is a rare occurrence in their caste. There are, of course, unhappy marriages, and in every marriage times of storm and misunderstanding, but as a rule the Bhil marriage is a steady and lasting union for life. This is the ideal, which every Bhil longs to materialize in his own marriage.

### Conclusion.

This description of the marriage rites of the Nimar Bhils makes it clear that the Bhils have, to a more or less extent, adopted the Hindu marriage ceremonies and customs. The ignorance of the deeper meaning of the singular ceremonies, very common among the Bhils, proves that this adoption of the Hindu customs has been a mere imitation, not a complete and inner acquisition of the spirit of Hinduism. Some rites, as the *khanapati* ceremony, the *haldi* anointment, the erection of the marriage *mandap*, the actual wedding ceremony, have been taken over only imperfectly, with omission of important parts of the Hindu ceremonial.

There are no relics of an old original Bhil ritual to be found in the marriage ceremonies of the Nimar Bhils, a lack, which is quite remarkable, if we consider the rich and complicated marriage ritual of the aboriginal Bhils in the Malva district and southern states of Rajputana (Cf. C. E. Luard: *The Jungle of Malwa* Lucknow 1909; P. Konrad: *Zur Ethnographie der*

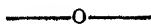
Bhils, in *Anthropos*, Vienna 1939, vol. XXXIV). However, a comparison with the marriage rites of the aboriginal Bhils of the Nimar district and the adjoining Holkar State makes this lack of an original Bhil ritual explicable: For the marriage ritual of these Bhils is so simple that a complete adoption of the Hindu ceremonial by these Bhils would leave no traces of the former ritual.

No description of their marriage ceremonies in detail is recorded anywhere, and the scanty information, I was able to collect, was given by Hinduised Bhils, who, however, had been eye-witnesses of an aboriginal Bhil marriage.

The Rathia Bhils do not practice child marriage. A Bhil youth is free to choose his own bride. When a grown-up Bhil boy has found a suitable girl and she consents to marry him, both simply disappear in the jungle for a few days. Their relatives are informed of the fact. When they return to the hut of the bride's family—the Rathia Bhils do not live in villages—the relatives of the bridegroom are called. When they have arrived, both, boy and girl, are anointed with *haldi*. A meal is prepared by the bride's family, of which all partake. Without any further ceremony the couple begin to live together from this day. The young man builds his own hut, near the house of his wife's family, where he lives, until his wife becomes pregnant. Then the husband's relatives are informed of the event and come to call the couple to their own home. There a porridge of maize flour (*makka ka ghat*) is prepared, of which all partake. Husband and wife then are made to sit down side by side, and the

loincloth of the man is joined to the veil of the woman. With that ceremony the marriage is made complete. From now on the young couple live with the relatives of the husband.

If this is the original Bhil marriage ritual, it is no wonder that no traces of it are found in the customs of the Hinduised Bhils, unless we consider the irregular forms of marriage as such. The fact that the Nimar Bhils' marriage ritual shows none of the peculiarities of the marriage rites, in use among the northern group of aboriginal Bhils, in Rajputana and Central India, suggests that the Nimar Bhils separated from the aboriginal Bhils either before these had developed their marriage rites, now in use among them, from other tribes or castes than the Nimar Bhils. It cannot yet be decided with certainty, whether the simple and primitive forms of marriage, in use among the Rathia Bhils, are the original Bhil rites or a degeneration of this particular Bhil group, from the original Bhils.





### III. THE PREHISTORIC CULTURE OF BENGAL. \*

By

H. C. CHAKLADAR, M. A.

On the Siwalik foothills and plains in the north-western Punjab between the Indus and the Jhelum, and between the southern slopes of the Kashmir Himalayas and the Salt Range, **Ice Age Palaeolithic Culture in the N. W. Punjab** numerous tools have been collected of the early Palaeolithic age, at sites specially in the valley of the river Soan, and on the Indus itself from Attock to its junction with the Soan. "The sites were congregated close to the river on terraces, suggesting that the river valleys afforded better hunting and habitable ground, or more easy routes for travel."<sup>49</sup> The terraces are of different ages bearing unmistakable records of the various phases of the Himalayan glacial cycle. The earliest tools, large massive flakes with little retouch have been found in the boulder conglomerate of the period of the second glaciation.<sup>50</sup> They are of a rather non-descript type, coarse flakes or flaked pebbles, and too few in number to be of any value for stratigraphic correlations. De Terra correlates this zone with the Middle Pleistocene,<sup>51</sup> but it may be of a still earlier

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\* Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4, October-December, 1941, pp. 203-236.

<sup>49</sup> Paterson, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>51</sup> De Terra, *Ice Age*, 1939, p. 264-6. See Wadia, op. cit., p. 280. See also H. De Terra and P. Teilhard de Chardin, *Observations on the Upper Siwalik Formation and Later Pleistocene Deposits in India*, Proc. American Philosophical Society, LXXVI, 1936, p. 822.

date, viz. the Lower Pleistocene. On terraces of the Second Interglacial stage (between the second major glaciation and the third) which was a warm and dry interval of very long duration "being thought to have occupied almost one-third of the entire Pleistocene",<sup>52</sup> abundant records of man's occupation have been found in the form of Palaeolithic tools at a number of sites; these include heavily rolled primitive implements of the Abbevillian types, some less rolled Early Acheulian hand-axes in fresh, and some slightly rolled and even unworn Middle Acheulian tools, and some finer and neater forms of Late Acheulian hand-axes in fresh and unworn condition have been found at some sites of perhaps a little later age.<sup>53</sup> Tools of these Abbevillian-Acheulian complex in the north-western Punjab are of the same types as those of Kuliana and South India, as is clearly shown by the fresh unworn specimens which, Paterson who examined the tools in both areas, assures us, "are typologically like those of a well-marked industry at a definite horizon in the terrace deposits of Madras."<sup>54</sup> This discovery of South Indian tools in the north-western Punjab, in an age which is correlated unquestionably with the Middle Pleistocene by all geologists, is of very great import for the history of the development and spread of the Palaeolithic industry in India.

On the terraces of the Soan and the Indus, in this same Second Interglacial stage, alongside these South Indian types, have been found a series of

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<sup>52</sup> De Terra, 1939 p. 222, p. 228.

<sup>53</sup> Paterson, op. cit., pp. 303-308.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

pebble and flake tools which are at first massive and crude but become progressively finer, the flakes resembling the Clactonian and Levalloisian facies of European archaeology. Evidences of this industry are found wide-spread along the Soan Valley, and, because of its easily recognizable, distinct, and characteristic assemblage, De Terra has given it the name 'Soan industry'.<sup>55</sup> This Early Soan culture is followed by a very pronounced flake assemblage and fine pebble tools in the third glacial conglomerate and the Late Soan industry continues through the third interglacial epoch also.

"It is interesting to note", as Paterson observes, "the parallel development in the Punjab of the Soan flake and pebble industries, alongside the Abbevillian-Acheulian complex. So far, these two entirely distinct cultures have been found in contact at one site only, Chauntra (on the Soan), where hand-axes of the Acheulian type are associated with cores and flakes of the Soan age".<sup>56</sup> Mr. D. Sen who accompanied De Terra's expedition in the north-western Punjab, and also made further investigations in the same region after De Terra left it, notes that there are two distinct cultures in the area, characterised by core and flake tools respectively, that the core tool people might have been the early settlers in the plains of the Punjab, and that the flake culture had a more or less parallel evolution within the core tool civilization of the Lower Palaeolithic period, but was developed and established as a distinct culture in the Middle Palaeo-

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 312.

lithic.<sup>57</sup>

Sen's conclusion receives some support from the occurrence of these two industries in distinctly dated horizons in the valley of the Narbada in Central India. In the ancient alluvium of high-level river terraces of the Narbada, have, for some time, been found fossils of extinct animals and "the earliest undoubted traces of man's existence".<sup>58</sup> De Terra examined the Narbada Valley between Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur, and could recognize in the ancient alluvium three sedimentary phases—the lower and upper zones, with the cotton soil or regur as the latest. The lower group contains fossils of fauna that he thinks, definitely belong to the Middle Pleistocene, and also associated with them early Palaeolithic tools—heavily rolled Abbevillian and Acheulian hand-axes as well as fresh unworn Acheulian tools, showing that "the manufacture of the Acheulian tools was contemporaneous with the deposition of these beds".<sup>59</sup> Besides, at some of the sites, there was a relative abundance of Early Soan tools in the lower group, but at other sites the Abbevillian-Acheulian types were unmixed with any such tools of the Soan industry.

In both gravels and pink clays of the Upper group, occur rolled and also fresh flakes and cores of the 'Late Soan' industry, and De Terra considers the Upper group of the Narbada Valley as contemporaneous with the "Late Soan". But the fossil fauna of the Upper Narbada group appears to be similar to

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<sup>57</sup> Sen, D., *Further Discoveries of Palaeolithic Cultures in the North-West Punjab*, Proc. 25th I. S. C., Calcutta, 1938, p 196.

<sup>59</sup> De Terra, *op. cit.*, 1939, p. 317.

that of the Lower group, and both carry Middle Pleistocene mammal remains. Near Narsinghpur a section "establishes clearly the continuity of the fauna as well as the replacement of the Acheulian culture by a late Soan industry with pebble choppers, beaked tools and cores".<sup>60</sup>

The discovery by De Terra of a thick bed of laterite in the Narbada Valley throws welcome light on our problem of dating the Palaeolith-bearing laterite beds of Kuliana and the East Coast. De Terra thinks that laterite gravel and laterite soil underlie the three groups in the Narbada Valley, that the laterite must antedate the stage of the ossiferous beds holding the fossils of the Mid-Pleistocene fauna, and that lateritization in this region terminated at a time prior to the deposition of the Lower Narbada zone.<sup>61</sup> In the vicinity of Hoshangabad, De Terra found that the primary laterite is free from implements, but their presence is seen in the rewashed secondary laterite, and he observes, "The presence of rewashed laterite with implements in Central India was hitherto unknown and is of interest in view of the wealth of early Palaeolithic hand-axe cultures represented in similar deposits near Madras",<sup>62</sup> and as we have seen, in the secondary laterite beds at Kuliana in the valley of the Burhabalanga. The Lower Narbada group had been at first equated by De Terra with the Siwalik boulder conglomerate and the Second Glacial advance, but on a comparison of the archaeological records of the two areas, he correlates it with the

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp. 315-6.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 323.

terrace deposits of the Punjab, i. e. the Second Interglacial period; the laterite being earlier in formation may have been deposited in the First Interglacial period, or at least in the early Second Glacial;<sup>63</sup> at any rate, it could not have been later than the early Mid-Pleistocene. This dating is however, quite provisional.

The secondary laterite beds of the East Coast equated with the laterite of the Narbada Valley, thus appear to form the earliest geological horizon where we find sure evidence of manufactured stone implements of primitive hand-axes, and the rich abundance of these artifacts in this region contrasted with their comparative rarity in the Narbada laterite, shows that the culture had travelled across the peninsula to the Narbada stations from the East Coast. The culture established there in the Middle Pleistocene during the period of formation of the Lower Narbada group, expands across the north-Indian plains up to the north-western Punjab, perhaps in the early millenniums of the Second Interglacial, and "it seems as if these Old Stone Age peoples came from the south to expand from the tropical belt to the mountain barrier from which the glaciers had retreated" and left the high terraces as ideal sites for their encamp-

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<sup>63</sup> De Terra and Teilhard in *Pr. Am. Ph. S.*, 1936, p. 822, had equated the Narbada Laterite with the Tatrot zone of the N. W. Punjab, of the First Glacial period, and the Narbada Lower zone with the Boulder Conglomerate of the Second Glacial, on faunistic and lithological grounds, but on archaeological grounds, he would equate the Lower Zone with the terrace deposits of the Punjab in the Second Interglacial (1939, p. 320); the implement-bearing laterite beds should, therefore, be referred to the early part of the Middle Pleistocene.

ment.<sup>64</sup> Later—late Second Interglacial to Third Glacial—another distinct culture characterised by a flake technique made its appearance on these terraces, apparently carried thither by a new people, perhaps from Central Asia, where, Menghin suggests, “the cradle of flake culture has to be looked for”, “somewhere in China or Turkestan”.<sup>65</sup> Here in north-western India the Soan flake culture prospers, supersedes the earlier core-culture of the hand-axes, and travels later—yet still in the Third Glacial age in the Middle Pleistocene—to Central India, following perhaps the very route traversed by the earlier culture in its journey northwards. Whether the Soan culture expanded further and reached the Bengal highlands, we are not yet in a position to say; there are flake tools in the large assemblage of Old Stone Age implements at Kuliana, but they are perhaps more primitive. No correlation of Indian flake cultures can be established until all the material has been thoroughly examined; detailed examination will no doubt reveal a stratification of the South Indian tools, of both core and flake culture.

The date of the hand-axe industry of India has been given above in terms of the broad geological divisions of earth's history, and a closer estimate in years would be far from exact. Accepting Medlicott's decision that the Narbada gravel, in which the Bhutra boucher was found by Hackett, belongs to the Late Pleistocene, Logan calculated that “we get a minimum age of 400,000 years from the present time as that of

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<sup>64</sup> De Terra, *The Siwalkis of India and Early Man*, in *Early Man*, ed. by G. G. MacCurdy, 1937, p. 267.

<sup>65</sup> Menghin, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

the Bhutra palaeolith",<sup>66</sup> and he refers the Mid-Pleistocene, to which De Terra assigns the same Narbada deposit, to an epoch "some six or seven hundred thousand years ago".<sup>67</sup> This is pretty near Keith's estimate of half a million years for the food-gathering stage of man's history, as we have seen before.

It has been suggested that the hand-axe culture might have originated in India. To Europe, where it is found in the Third Interglacial, "there can be little doubt that it spread from Africa", states Menghin, and he adds, "The question arises whether Africa or India is the true home of the hand-axe culture, or if the whole range of countries from India to Africa might not be its cradle".<sup>68</sup> Indian Palaeolithic culture has been very imperfectly explored as yet, hence no reliable decision is possible in the present state of our knowledge, but the fact has to be noted that the South-Indian hand-axes appear to show an affinity with corresponding African tools, whereas the hand-axes of Sumatra and further India differ from the typical palaeolithic hand-axes of India by being worked, almost without exception on one side only, the reverse showing the untouched natural roundness of rubbles, as noted by Heine-Geldern.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Logan, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>68</sup> Menghin, op. cit., p. 310

<sup>69</sup> Drummond H. J. H. and Paterson, T. T., Recent Palaeolithic Discoveries in India, Rep. Br. Ass. 1937, p. 396. Heine-Geldern, Robert, *The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra*, Vienna, 1935, p. 306.



The question naturally arises what did those men look like—men who about the initial phases of the Second Interglacial, or even earlier, made use in their daily life of those cleaving, smiting, piercing and scraping implements that we have extracted out of the laterite beds about the Burhabalanga. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered here or anywhere else in India, associated with these undoubted products of the human hand, to help us in the identification of the type of man that manufactured them. "There is a record by Theobald of a human cranium preserved and then lost in the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, supposed to have come from a conglomerate bone bed. Theobald listed it as *Homo sapiens*",<sup>70</sup> from which it is evident that either he was wrong about the bed from which it was derived, or in the identification of the type to which it is to be assigned. Fossilized relics of early man, however, in well authenticated geological and cultural horizons, have been discovered in Europe and in other parts of the Asiatic continent.

In Europe, where they have received the most careful attention and study, it has been revealed that the makers of 'river drift' or early Palaeolithic culture of the Abbevillian-Acheulian complex with which our culture manifests a close affinity, were ape-like in appearance and are called men only by courtesy. Even about the end of the Lower Palaeolithic, in the

<sup>70</sup> De Terra, 1939, p. 313, Theobald, W., *The Siwalik Group of the Sub-Himalayan Region*, Rec. Ind. G. S., Vol. 14, 1881, p. 122.

initial stages of what is called cave culture, artifacts have been found associated with what is called the 'Neanderthal Man' "who was not an ancestor of *Homo sapiens* (i. e. Modern Man), but formed a separate species now extinct. Despite his rather ape-like appearance, he lived in caves, knew the use of fire, and could manufacture excellent flint implements",<sup>71</sup> that show a considerable advance in technique over the rather rude Kuliana tools. It was only when the cave culture was fairly advanced, about the last stages of the Pleistocene, that types like Modern Man—*Homo sapiens*—came upon the scene.

In Asia, skeletal remains of early man have been found in Palestine, in China and in Java. In Palestine, about a dozen proto-human skeletal remains manifesting a wide range of individual variability have been found in the same horizon, and are of very great interest, as they present a remarkable mosaic of Neanderthaloid and 'modern' features, illustrating a transitional stage in evolution between the Neanderthal proto-man and the Neanthropic man or '*Homo sapiens*'.<sup>72</sup> These individuals lived in the Upper Pleistocene, in the latter half of the Third Interglacial, before the onset of the last Ice advance. The deposits in which they lived have yielded a large number of hand-axes, associated with an even larger number of flake tools, so that we have here a mixture of core and flake implements as in the Soan industry of the

<sup>71</sup> Keith, Sir Arthur, *The Evolution of Man*, U. H., I, p. 166.

<sup>72</sup> Keith, Sir A., *Early Palestinians*, Rep. Br. Ass., 1938, Cambridge, pp. 472, 479. Keith and McCown, *Mount Carmel Man—His Bearing on the Ancestry of Modern Races*, in *Early Man*, 1937, pp. 41-52.

north-western Punjab, and "a particularly significant feature is the presence of a group of blades and blade tools, in marked contrast with the hand-axes and flake tools with which they are associated",<sup>73</sup> as in the Late Soan industry. Dr. Garrod points out that the centre of dispersion of the very early blade culture, already emerging in Lower Palaeolithic times, "theoretically lies in an as yet unidentified centre in southern Central Asia".<sup>74</sup> The Indian blade culture which acquired a great importance in Neolithic and Chalcolithic times, might have been derived from the same area.

The China man, *Homo Sinanthropus*, reconstructed out of fossilized skeletal remains recently discovered at Choukoutien among hills not very far from Peking, comes nearer **Proto-Man In China.** in age to the people who handled the Kuliana tools, as both belong to Middle Pleistocene formations; some synchronism has been sought to be established between the Chinese gravels of the age and the Indian 'boulder conglomerate' of the Siwaliks and Lower Group of the Narbada Valley.<sup>75</sup> Hardly any correlations, however, can possibly be traced between the *Sinanthropus* and Kuliana stone industries; what Pei Wen-Chung observes about the relation between the *Sinanthropus* and contemporary European industries, applies with equal force here: "Judging by geological and palaeontological studies,

<sup>73</sup> Garrod, Dorothy A. E., *The Near East as a Gateway of Prehistoric Migration*, Early Man, pp. 33-40; p. 34.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>75</sup> Teilhard de Chardin, Pere P., *The Pleistocene of China, Stratigraphy and Correlations*, Early Man, 211-220.

the *Sinanthropus* industry in China corresponds chronologically to the Abbevillian and earliest Clactonian" with which the Kuliana and South Indian Palaeolithic tools in general, have some resemblance; "but the contemporary implements are quite divergent in type and technique". The *Sinanthropus* is associated, adds Wen-Chung, mainly with a very rudimentary flake industry, and a few crude bone tools; he appears to have been acquainted with the use of artificial fire.<sup>76</sup>

The island of Java which in the Pliocene and for long in the Pleistocene was "a part of the Asiatic mainland, forming, together with Sumatra and Borneo, a great extension of what is now the Malay Peninsula",<sup>77</sup> seems to offer a better geological and palaeontological synchronism with India than any other area, and a brilliant suggestion has been made by De Terra<sup>78</sup> with regard to the culture and migrations of early man in Southern Asia, and with regard to the very evolution of Man from the higher anthropoids, and in these investigations the Siwalik foothills of the Himalayas have been invested with the highest biological interest. The Siwaliks are composed of ancient deposits of alluvial detritus washed down from the Himalayas for countless millenniums since the Miocene, or even earlier, and its layers re-

<sup>76</sup> Wen-Chung, Pei, *Palaeolithic Industries in China*, Early Man, p. 229, and p. 224.

<sup>77</sup> McGregor, J. H., *Human Origins and Early Man*, in General Anthropology, ed. F. Boas, New York, 1938, p. 45.

✓<sup>78</sup> De Terra, H., *The Siwaliks of India and Early Man*, *EARLY MAN*, 1937, pp. 257-268.

veal, by an extraordinarily rich assemblage of petrified mammalian remains entombed in their beds, the presence, in the forests clothing the outer slopes of the Himalayas, of a great wealth of mammalian life at the time they were formed. Many of the animals represented in these fossils form the immediate ancestors of our modern mammals, and thus afford palaeontologists invaluable data for mammalian evolution.<sup>79</sup> The fossilized remains of no less than eight genera and twenty-two species of anthropoid apes have been discovered in the Siwaliks, and the possibility of human emergence from an ancestral Siwalik ape has long exercised the minds of scientists. The greatest abundance of anthropoids occurs in Pliocene times, and in the next age, viz. the Pleistocene, as we have seen, we find human implements in the locality. Some scholars have thought that under biological stress conditions occasioned by the uplift of the Himalayas which profoundly altered the habitat of the most advanced primates in this region, a new proto-human form evolved. De Terra, however, thinks that a change in climate was responsible for human evolution. It appears that tropical climatic conditions flourished in the Himalayan foothills when the great anthropoids lived there in Miocene and Pliocene ages. They must have been in a process of progressive evolution when a displacement of the tropical belt towards the south led to a migration from the Siwalik Hills across India,

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<sup>79</sup> Wadia, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-275. An idea of the extraordinary wealth of Siwalik fauna may be obtained from the fact that "of the thirty species of elephants and elephant-like creatures that peopled the Siwalik province of India and were indigenous to it, only one is found living today". *Ibid.*, p. 266.

through Burma and Malaya, till at the close of the Pliocene time they would reach Java where under the stimulating elements due to the shifting of climatic zones, would take place the ultimate emergence of certain *proto-human* types. It is significant that exactly at this time in the late Pliocene and early Pleistocene, we lose all traces of the anthropoids in the Siwalik deposits, and although no human or proto-human being has yet been revealed in the Himalayas or anywhere else in India, yet a few hundred milleniums afterwards, in the Middle Pleistocene, in the closing years of the Second glaciation or the early years of the Second Interglacial, the first records of early humans meet us in the form of simple and crude artifacts in the boulder conglomerate of the Siwalik region, and in the laterite beds of a possibly earlier date in the Narbadda Valley and the East Coast including Kuliana. As the early stone industry travelled from the East Coast across the peninsula to the Narbada and thence to the Soan and the Indus,<sup>80</sup> it is evident that Early Man had settled in the Kuliana region first, and then proceeded south and west, as would be likely if he had come from Java.

Following up De Terra's hypothesis of the origin of Man, we have to picture before our mind's eye a number of Siwalik mammals including anthropoids trudging along the foothills of the Himalayas from the Punjab and Assam, fleeing before the cold blizzards foreshadowing the severer onsets of the Ice Age; as evidence of this trek, it may be pointed out that some of their mammalian associates in the Siwaliks have

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<sup>80</sup> De Terra, 1937, p. 267; also, *Ice Age*, 1939, pp. 234 and 252-3.

been found in the deposits of the Irrawaddy system.<sup>81</sup> The Siwalik mammals move on south through Malaya till they reach Java where, Von Koenigswald assures us, "the Tji Djoelang zone" has a typical Siwalik fauna', and hence "may be correlated with the Tatrot zone of the Siwalik series of India"<sup>82</sup> (Pliocene Pleistocene). In the Djetis zone, in the same island, of the Lower Pleistocene where the Siwalik fauna continue, has been found the fossilized skull of a presumably human child (*Homo modjokertensis*), and in the Trinil zone assigned to the Middle Pleistocene were found by Abbe Dubois the famous fossils of the Ape-Man of Java (*Pithecanthropus erectus*) who, Keith thinks, "represents the earliest type of man known to us",<sup>83</sup> but there are others who differ. *Pithecanthropus*, however, is said to have been descended from an anthropoid hailing from China and not from the Siwaliks, being closely related to, and more advanced than the China Man, *Sinanthropus*. Some flake stone implements were found in the Trinil level, but "they are much too advanced for as primitive a being as *Pithecanthropus*" ;<sup>84</sup> in another site

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<sup>81</sup> Wadia, op. cit., pp. 274-5. No Siwalik anthropoids, however, have been found in the Irrawaddy system.

<sup>82</sup> Koenigswald, G. H. R. von, *A Review of the Stratigraphy of Java and its Relations to Early Man*, Early Man, pp. 23-32; p. 25. Some anthropoids appear in the same age in Java, but they are of Chinese, and not Siwalik, affinity (ibid., pp. 27-8).

<sup>83</sup> Keith, *Evolution*, U. H., I, p. 155. Keith holds that the *Pithecanthropus* is of Pliocene Age, but von Koenigswald thinks that he belongs to the Middle Pleistocene (op. cit. p. 27). Dubois now thinks that "*Pithecanthropus* was not a man, but a gigantic genus allied to the Gibbons". (*Early Man*, p. 317).

<sup>84</sup> Von Koenigswald, op. cit., p. 29.

in the same zone, however, were found true hand-axes resembling those of the Indian east coast type. Von Koenigswald thinks that "the manufacturer of these Java hand-axes is possibly represented by the femur from Trinil belonging to an extinct human type of unknown affinity".<sup>85</sup>

In another Pleistocene zone of Java (Ngandong) on the river Solo, have been discovered, associated with mammal fossils of Indian Pleistocene types, various remains of a fossil Man (*Homo soloensis*) who has certain points of resemblance with the Neanderthal Man of Europe but the points of difference are equally prominent as pointed out by Oppenoorth who thinks that "*Homa soloensis* is the oldest at present known of *Homo sapiens fossilis*".<sup>86</sup> The few implements associated with the Solo man consist mainly of bone tools and have no connection with the Palaeolithic implements of India. Another type of early man has been discovered at Wadjak in Java, but it has been doubted whether the Wadjak Man (*Homo sapiens wadjakensis*) whom Dubois places in the Pleistocene, belongs to that epoch at all.<sup>87</sup>

So far as can be judged from correlation between the Kuliana implements and those of the various groups of Java, it is only the hypothetical man called up into existence by Von Koenigswald out of the Trinil femurs, that stands a distant chance of having contributed to the growth of the rich Indian industry. If any member of the human or proto-human stocks

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>86</sup> Oppenoorth, W. F. F., *The Place of Homo Soloensis among Fossil Men*, Early Man, pp. 358-9.

<sup>87</sup> Koenigswald, op. cit., p. 32.



of Java reached India before the deposition of the laterite beds in the Middle Pleistocene, he must have retraced the footsteps of his hypothetical anthropoid ancestors half a million or more years back, as no land bridge connected South India directly with Java at the date of his journey; the 'Gondwana continent' that linked South India with other land masses in the Southern Hemisphere had subsided or drifted away millions of years ago, at the commencement of the Cainozoic, leaving the Indian peninsula isolated as at present.<sup>88</sup> If we accept De Terra's theory, it would be necessary to show that by the time the proto-humans from Java reached the Assam or Darjeeling hills, the alluvium that had been filling up the North Indian trough between the Himalayas and the South Indian land mass, had gone up sufficiently high to offer a safe passage to these welcome visitors from afar, and enabled them to cross over to the Rajmahal Hills, and move on to the Ranigunge coalfields and ultimately to Kuliana where they found, in the numerous quart-

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<sup>88</sup> Wadia, *op. cit.*, p. 124, and p. 224. Fox, however, says, "It is believed from the evidence of the glacial boulder beds and other data, e.g. fossil flora and fauna, that India, Australia, South America, and South Africa, formed part of that ancient southern continent—Gondwanaland. It is thought that such a continental region, more or less connected, was in existence till the close of the Tertiary—our first realisation of its existence being of a frozen land buried under several hundred feet of ice in the Uralian epoch". If this is correct, then the Siwalik anthropoids might have travelled through South India to Java, though there is no evidence of their having done so. But their supposed descendants—could certainly not have followed that route. Cyril S. Fox, *The Gondwana System and Related Formations*, *Men. Geo. Sur. of India*, Vol. 58, p. 220.

zite pebbles accumulated in the valley of the Burhabalanga, abundant materials for the manufacture of the weapons and implements so indispensable to them for keeping body and soul together.

Another probably fruitful line of investigation would be to examine whether there is any correlation between Early Man in India and **Early man in India and Africa.** Africa, seeing that in their prehistoric cultures, especially in the very remote stages, there appears to have been a closer association than in those of India and Java. Burkitt and Cammiade observe that the primitive handaxes forming the oldest stone implements in the East Coast region of India, "are connected with cleavers and Proto-Levallois cores of the Victoria-West type"<sup>89</sup> of the Cape province. Besides, Drummond and Paterson point out that in South India "the Abbevillian-Acheulian culture are wide-spread, Upper Acheulian, with many South-African affinities, being especially common".<sup>90</sup> Even with regard to Soan culture, Menghin points out that "the archaeological series starts with a pebble culture like the Kafuan of East Africa", and that "the earlier Soan industry uses pebbles, too, and shows strong similarity with the pebble industry of Egypt".<sup>91</sup>

The Rhodesian or 'Broken Hill' Man, discovered in South Africa, is of uncertain date; probably he is

<sup>89</sup> Burkitt, M. C. and Cammiade, L. A., "*Fresh Light on the Stone Ages in Southern India*", *Antiquity*, IV, 1930, p. 324. Menghin, op. cit., p. 309.

<sup>90</sup> Drummond, H. J. H., and Paterson, T. T., *Recent Palaeolithic Discoveries in India*, Rep. Br. Ass., 1937, p. 396.

<sup>91</sup> Menghin, op. cit., pp. 308-9.

not so old as the Kuliana people, yet he "reveals the most ape-like face yet found in a human variety".<sup>92</sup> Africa has yielded a number of other skeletal remains, especially in the south and east, and many of them of the terminal Pleistocene,<sup>93</sup> but no affinity with Indian types can be worked out with our present knowledge.

Wherever may have been the origin of the authors of the Kuliana tools, if it is correct that they lived in the Middle Pleistocene, then they

**Physical Features of Kuliana Men.** must have been particularly ape-like,

resembling their contemporaries in other parts of the world. Even if the Kuliana culture can by any new discovery be brought down to the terminal Pleistocene, even then it would be doubtful whether its author would look like modern man; at best he might look like one or other of the transitional types of Palestine described by Keith and McCown.<sup>94</sup> This fact has been lost sight of by our Indian anthropologists. Thus, Foote, our greatest authority on the prehistoric cultures of South India, speaking of the South-Indian Neolithic stone workers, refers to "their palaeolithic predecessors (probably actual ancestors)",<sup>95</sup> and again he speaks of "the neolithic people, and also their palaeolithic predecessors, possibly their ancestors";<sup>96</sup> next he states, "it is a very reasonable inference that the iron workers were the direct successors and probably lineal descendants of the neolithic

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<sup>92</sup> Kroeber, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., Sup. pp. 8-9.

<sup>94</sup> Op. cit., pp. 41-52.

<sup>95</sup> Foote, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 103-4.

people",<sup>97</sup> and he also speaks of "the status of civilization attained by the polished stone people and their probable direct descendants, the early iron people".<sup>98</sup> Foote thus draws a direct line of human descent from the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic, and from the latter to the Iron Age people; of course, from physical appearance, there is nothing impossible in the Iron Age men being descended from the Neolithic men, as both of them belong to the category of 'Modern Man', *Homo sapiens*, but it is certain that neither of these two could belong to the same type of humanity as those whose implements Foote has chiselled out of the laterite beds—beds which he says, were deposited in the pluvial period of the Ice Age.<sup>99</sup> Sir Edward Gait also speaks rather loosely of "the so-called aboriginal tribes now inhabiting Chota Nagpur are the direct descendants of the men who made the stone implements in this district".<sup>100</sup>

This interesting question now faces us as to whether the primitive peoples who at the present day live in the Bengal highlands and the wilds

**Relation between  
present Indian  
Jungle Folk and  
Java Proto-  
humans.**

of South India are the direct descendants of the makers of the Kuliana tools, and ultimately of the proto-human stocks of Asia Minor or Java,

as has been suggested by some scientists. Many of these peoples like the Chenchus of Hyderabad or the Kadars of the Cochin forests, have not risen much

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>100</sup> Gait, Sir E. A., Preface to *The Mundas and their Country*, by S. C. Roy. C. W. Anderson, op. cit., p. 361.

above the stage of civilization of the Kuliana river drift, and have not cared to assimilate much of the far advanced culture that has evolved about them in the few millenniums since the passing away of the Pleistocene.

Sewel and Guha, and Hutton with them, have sought to establish that our primitive people were derived from a type whose skulls were unearthed at Kish and Al'Ubaid in Mesopotamia, and ultimately from the Palestine Men.<sup>101</sup> A link between our Indian primitives and the transitional types discovered in Palestine is not improbable, but it has not been proven. I have discussed the question elsewhere.<sup>102</sup>

These men have been styled "Proto-Australoids", by Sewell and Guha,<sup>103</sup> and some other scientists also are using the name, although their affinity with the Australians is far from clear. They possess a close affinity with the Veddas of Ceylon, and have been given various appellations of which the name *Nishāda* given by Chanda<sup>104</sup> appears to be the least controversial, and will be used in the present paper. This *Nishāda* population must have been far more numerous in earlier times, and they undoubtedly form the substratum of the present day population everywhere in India; a number of skulls found in certain sepul-

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<sup>101</sup> Chapter XXX in Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, J. H. Hutton, Census of India, 1931, Rep. I, pp. 439-444.

<sup>102</sup> Chakladar, H. C., op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>103</sup> Op. cit., ch. XXX.

<sup>104</sup> Chanda, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 4-11. Dr. B. S. Guha has also accepted the name *Nishāda* for the non-Negritoid Indian aborigines. Rep. Census, 1931, I, Ph. iii, p. LXX.

chral urns at Aditanallur in the Tinnevely district in the extreme south of the Indian peninsula,<sup>105</sup> are as yet the earliest skeletal remains of the Nishāda stock in India.

MacGregor thinks of a possible connection between the Javanese proto-humans and the Nishāda 'Proto-Australoids' of India and Ceylon. He observes, "on anatomical grounds, Dr. Dubois seems to be justified in regarding the Wadjak remains as *Proto-Australoid*, which is important as corroborating other evidence from living types in Southern India and Ceylon, that the Proto-Australoid stock migrated from southern Asia".<sup>106</sup> The Solo Man discovered a little later, he thinks, supplies a missing link in the chain, and he notes about it, "This new discovery is highly significant, for it actualizes a quite plausible intermediate form or 'link', hitherto missing, between *Pithecanthropus* and the Wadjak Man, the whole series in the same region; and incidentally it enhances the importance of *Pithecanthropus* as a possible progenitor of *Homo*".<sup>107</sup> The evolutionary series of ancient types of man in Java, then,—the Ape Man, the Solo Man, and the Wadjak Man—may very well be expected to stand in the line of ancestors of our Indian 'Proto-Australoid' Nishādas but there are differences between the Wadjak Man and the Aditanallur Man, as there are between the former and the modern Australian. In the case of Australia, a 'link' has been discovered

<sup>105</sup> Rea, A., *Prehistoric Antiquities in Tinnevely*, ARASI, 1902-03. Zuckerman, S., *The Adichanallur Skulls*, Madras, 1930. Chakladar, op. cit., pp. 5-7.

<sup>106</sup> MacGregor, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidi*, p. 85.

in the Talgai skull found in that island, and considered to be distinctly of Australoid type ; McGregor, therefore, appears to be justified in saying, "Homo sapiens, not improbably relative or offspring of a Javan stock, arrived in Australia before the end of the Pleistocene period as evidenced by the Proto-Australoid skull discovered at Talgai in Queensland in 1884, in a layer of the late Pleistocene".<sup>108</sup> In the case, however, this link is still missing, and as Zuckerman observes, "the Australoid inhabitant of Tinnevely was not the most primitive type of Indian, but that he too, like the Australian, was the descendant of a Talgai-like race".<sup>109</sup> But any Talgai-like skull would belong to the very last years of the Late Pleistocene, separated by several hundreds of millenniums from the early phase of the Middle Pleistocene when the people responsible for the Kuliana implements lived. The question of the origin and relationships of our Nishāda population thus offers many perplexing problems of which no definite solution is possible until ampler materials are at hand. One thing is certain, however, that they must have differed materially in the function, form and structure of their limbs, from those of the ancient dwellers of the Valley of the Burhabalanga, or of the Narbada, considering the age in which the latter flourished. It is not now possible to say whether the Kuliana men did undergo transformation towards human organization and shed their apish features, on Indian soil, or whether they become extinct and the progenitors of the Nishādas immigrated into the country after evolution outside India, with a new advanced culture, possibly after the last advances of the Himalayan glaciers.

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>109</sup> Zuckerman, op. cit., p. 20.

#### IV. CEREMONIAL CROSS-DRESSING AMONG THE MURIAS OF BASTAR STATE.

By

VERRIER ELWIN

Ceremonial cross-dressing has been recorded of a number of primitive peoples and many different explanations of the custom have been advanced. 'Among the lower races', says Havelock Ellis, 'the manifestations of Eonism may occur not only, as in civilisation, in a sporadic and isolated way, but also sometimes endemically in groups' and he suggests that possibly this tendency may represent not, 'as we might have been tempted to suppose, a corrupt or over-refined manifestation of late cultures, but the survival of an ancient and natural tendency of more primitive man'.<sup>1</sup>

Seligman used the expression 'ceremonial cross-dressing' to describe what he observed in dances of the Marshall Bennet Islanders in Melanesia and among the Lotuko in Africa. Similar customs have been reported of the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo and the Omaha, and from other parts of the world a long list of examples has been given by Crawley.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the change of dress is inspired by a dream, and occurs occasionally and in emergency: sometimes it is a part of the regular ceremonial of a festival or marriage; sometimes it is due to 'supernatural' inspirations.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis, *Eonism* (Random House, 1936) p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1927) I, pp. 318 ff, II, pp. 49 ff, and pp. 101 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the "*Change of Sex*" motif in Indian fiction, see W. N. Brown in *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XLVII (1927), pp. 3 ff and Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. VII, pp. 231 ff.



In Bastar I have noted two forms of this cross-dressing. Men sometimes put on women's jackets adorned with cowries when they go to prophesy in trance before a god and reveal his will to their fellows. At the bigger clan-festivals you may see a dozen or more mediums dancing and gesticulating in a state of ecstatic excitement, all wearing round their bodies these gaily-coloured and rather incongruous blouses.

But this is the only occasion, I think, where the male aboriginals of Bastar put on women's dress. It is more common for women to dress up as men. Bison-horn Maria women of Dantewara sometimes put on male garments at the great Wijja Pandum and drive their men-folk out to the hunt which precedes the main business of the festival. The Murias of north Bastar have the same custom, and the unmarried girls, dressed up as boys, dismiss the men of the tribe for a ceremonial hunt on the success of which will depend the value of the annual harvest.

Muria society of north Bastar is organised round the *ghotul* or village dormitory, of which the boy and girl members are known as *cheliks* and *motiāris* respectively. These *cheliks* and *motiāris* have important social duties as festivals, funerals and marriages. Indeed without them it is almost impossible to celebrate a Muria marriage, for it is they who conduct the entire three days' ceremonial. On the third day of the marriage rites, the *motiāris* dress up as *cheliks*. They put on turbans, waist-coats and loin-cloths. They borrow boys' armlets for their arms, put knives in their waistbands, and approach the marriage-booth carrying axes, branches of mango leaves and bunches of *dab* grass. They dance up to the marriage-booth,

under which the bridegroom is seated, and ceremonially sweep it. Among the dancers is the bride disguised as a boy. All the dancers are in fact disguised, for they wind their turbans round and round their faces to make it as difficult as possible to tell them apart. As the girls go round and round the booth, they challenge the bridegroom to pick out his bride. He is supposed to be unable to do this, so at last, as the girls draw closer and closer to him, the bride suddenly darts out from among them and hits him on the back with her clenched fist. He jumps up and attempts to hit her back but she escapes and her fellow *motiāris* do their best to protect her. After this the girls continue dancing for some time, then retire to their homes and remove their male disguise.

This practice is called the Nemuldwar, the 'army of the bride and bridegroom', and the dance is the Choli Endanna or the Jhoria Endanna. The name Choli Endanna simply means 'the waist-coat dance' and refers to the male disguise. The word Jhoria probably means lowlander<sup>4</sup> and used to be the name for a large group of Murias in the west-central area who were probably descendants of the Marias of the Abujhmar Mountains. The Jhorias, says Col. Glasfurd, 'are more akin to the Marias than to the Murias. They resemble the former in dress and like them prefer a life in the woods to the attractions of a civilisation even so wild as that of the Bastar country'.<sup>5</sup> Though Glasfurd calls them 'a numerous class' only

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<sup>4</sup> Hislop derives the word from *jhori*, a brook—*Papers* (Nagpur, 1866) I, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Glasfurd, *Report on the Dependency of Bastar* (Calcutta, 1863). Quoted in *Census of India*, 1891, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 186.

936<sup>6</sup> were returned at the 1891 Census and since then the name has generally dropped out as the title of the tribe, which has become merged with the Murias. There is, however, a Jhorian Pargana or sub-division and it is said that the dance is so called because it originated here. Although the word Jhoria means 'lowlander' in comparison with the Marias of the high Abujhmar Hills, to the Murias and Gonds of east Bastar it is the name of an older and more primitive people. The expression Jhoria Endanna, therefore, suggests a dance of old time and ancient tradition. It is the most primitive of all the marriage dances.

As the *motiāris* approach and dance round the marriage-booth, which they do very slowly in a long straight line, each girl clutching her left-hand neighbour round the neck with one arm, while with the other she waves her bunch of grass and mango leaves to and fro as if she were sweeping a floor, they sing a number of songs. There is a considerable variety of these and I will give a few examples of different kinds. The first song refers to the ceremonial sweeping of the marriage booth.

Dewān miyār kīlīnta dewo !  
 Wāyu dewā wāyu roy dewo !  
 Wiyār haiyu wāyu roy !  
 Nalīng cho gorāng roy dewo  
 Gorāng norsi otā roy dewonī.  
 Dewān miyār kīlīnta dewo !  
 Hirpeng ichoh wejing roy dewo.  
 Wejēng usī otā roy dewo.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> *Eleusine coracana*.

<sup>8</sup> *Phyllanthus emblica*, Linn.

Dewān miyār kīlīnta dewo !  
 Perke pīlā wāterom dewo,  
 Dewān miyār kīlīnta dewo !  
 Dewan's daughter is crying, Dewo !  
 Come girl, come Dewo !  
 Come to sweep, girl, come Dewo !  
 The *mandia*<sup>7</sup> is like *aonra*<sup>8</sup> fruit  
 She went to grind the *mandia*.  
 Dewan's daughter is crying, Dewo !  
 The rice is like chips of wood.  
 She went to husk the rice.  
 Dewan's daughter is crying, Dewo !  
 She went with her baby on her back,  
 Dewan's daughter is crying, Dewo !

The next song is about the girls' disguise. The bridegroom cannot recognise the bride now but he will recognise her all too well when the marriage is consummated.

Burgā chodi layor	The boy is getting old,
Bābā kokore kore.	<i>Bābā kokore kore</i>
Nanāy layor intor.	Yet he calls himself a youth.
Layāh ondeh kilōr,	He collects the young girls,
Layāh tedlā hewong.	He won't let them go.
Murhā portānā intor.	He calls himself an orphan.
Onā chode māywār	He says he'll see what happens
Māwā here wāyer.	If we come near.
Māke ise wariyāntor.	He has frightened us.
Dulhīn chinhe māyor,	He can't recognise the bride,
Mulbāh chinhe māntor,	But he'll know her tonight,
Layor ise ātek.	If he really is a youth.
Wāsī muthkā hewer,	We are going to hit him.

He says, 'This is my wife'.

*Bābā kokore kore.*

Mutkā jilāy wāl tunā, With my fist I will beat him,  
Nanā jhorīyān layor. I am the Jhoria boy.

Nāke hurse warintu,      Seeing me he is afraid,  
Nanā jhoriyān layor.      I am the Jhoria boy.

Pichāl tangiyā kānj tonā, I have a small axe on my  
shoulder,  
 Nanā jhoriyān layor, I am the Jhoria boy.

Kariyā kot kartunā,      I am wearing a black coat,  
Nanā jhoriyān layor.      I am the Jhoria boy.

Mandā heī wāntonā,      I have come to clean the  
    marriage-booth,  
 Nanā jhoriyān layor.      I am the Jhoria boy.

Another song seems simply to describe the various clothes and ornaments that the girls are wearing :

Agā wagā dāng parāig saiya sonā ?

Wane lure matāng ale saiya sonā.

Arāy nātāṅ parāig saiya sonā.

Agā wagā dāng kundrīng saiya sonā ?

Kohkā nātāng kundrīng saiya sonā.

Agā wagā dāng chit kurīng saiya sonā ?

Gurūn kaiyadang chit kurīng saiya sonā.

Agā wagā dā dhotī roy saiya sonā ?

Gāndon kaiyadā dhotī roy saiyo sonā.

Agā wagā dāng muyāng roy saiya sonā ?

Kaser kaiyadāng muyāng roy saiya sonā.

Agā wagā dāng pariyā roy saiya sonā ?

Layon kaiyadā pariyā roy saiya sonā.

Wane lure matāng ale saiya sonā.

Whence is the drum that sounds so bravely ?

From Arra comes the drum.

Whence is the *kundring* that sounds so well ?

From Kohka comes the *kundring*.

Whence are the cymbals that clash so loudly ?

The blacksmith made the cymbals.

Whence came the *dhoti* that looks so smart ?

The Ganda made the *dhoti*.

Whence came the bells that tinkle so merrily ?

The Kaser made the bells.

Whence comes the comb that looks so fine ?

The *chelik* made the comb.

Finally, I will give one example of the many obscene songs that are sung during this dance, for otherwise it is impossible to get a clear picture of the meaning and atmosphere of the rite.

Nanā jhoriyānā waiwā gāto tinwānā.

Nanā jhoriyānā daissa dūdo poywānā.

Nanā jhoriyānā podoh monde dehwanā.

Nanā jhoriyānā hārspoche tendwānā.

Nanā jhoriyānā pudete bonde nehyānā.

Nanā jhoriyānā teks bura mihachwānā.

I am Jhoria: I will not eat half-cooked rice.

I am Jhoria: jumping up and down I hold her breast.

I am Jhoria: I break the girdle round her waist.

I am Jhoria: I quickly pull off her cloth.

I am Jhoria: into her vagina I press my penis.

I am Jhoria: I will pluck out my pubic hairs and  
throw them away.

This song is sung by the bride herself and by a party of unmarried girls. They have changed their sex for the occasion and imagine themselves performing the sexual act as men. The significance of this will be seen when we discuss the ultimate basis of the rite.

Various reasons have been advanced by scholars to explain this custom in different parts of the world. Frazer has emphasised the difficulty of the problem. 'The religious or superstitious interchange of dress between men and women is an obscure and complex problem, and it is unlikely that any single solution would apply to all the cases'.<sup>9</sup> He has suggested that the custom of the bride dressing as a male may be a magical means of ensuring a male heir. Certainly, it is possible that cross-dressing has something to do with fertility. In Sarawak the Klemantan women dance in turbans and a sort of *dhoti* at a harvest festival which has been described as 'a celebration or cult of the principle of fertility and vitality—that of the women no less than that of the rice-grain'.<sup>10</sup> Zulu women dress in men's clothes and go to herd their cattle to save them from disease.<sup>11</sup> Crawley refers to a custom of the Ngente of Assam when men dressed as women dance in honour of the children born during the year.<sup>12</sup> In the Mandla District of the Central Provinces of India, Gond and Baiga women from time to time dress up as men and go

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<sup>9</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London, 1911-15), VI, p. 260.

<sup>10</sup> Hose, *Natural Man* (London, 1926) p. 198. Hose gives a charming photograph.

<sup>11</sup> Crawley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 320.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 105.

from village to village with spears and axes on a sort of ceremonial hunt. In each place they catch and kill a pig, an act normally taboo to women. That this is a fertility rite is indicated partly by the fact that it is practised in times of dearth and also by the songs used for the occasion. One of these is as follows:

*Kutki kodon ke bharti hoē!* May kutki and kodon increase!

*Kuta bilai ke jharti hoē!* May dogs and cats decrease!

*Gai garua ke bharti hoē!* May cows and cattle increase!

*Kukra bilai ke jharti hoē!* May dogs and cats decrease!

Another suggestion is that the marriage disguise is aimed at averting danger from the evil eye at a moment when the bride is particularly susceptible to the influence of hostile magic.<sup>13</sup> The marriage disguise has been noted for different peoples in Africa and India as well as in antiquity. Sometimes it is carried so far as to substitute a mock bride for the real one.<sup>14</sup>

Another suggestion of Frazer's is that the wife wears her husband's garments in order to transfer to him her future pains at child-birth.<sup>15</sup> But there is no tradition of the couvade among the Murias, and it seems rather far-fetched to suppose that the young bride will already be so anxious about her pains as to wish to be rid of them even on her marriage day.

In an interesting account of the women's hunt in the Ranchi District of Chota-Nagpur, Mr. W. G.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 318 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii, p. 216



Archer has traced the mythological basis of the custom, but he points out that it also fulfils a psychological need. 'We shall only be grasping its real value if we regard it not as fact but as poetry, as the expression of a need rather than a statement of a truth'.

This need may be defined as follows. In Uraon society, the principles of succession are male, the method of government is male, the salient offices are male. The men are by convention and tradition the social superiors of the women. And if this is the convention, it is only partly the fact. In Uraon villages, the actual relation is one of equality. It is as equals that the men and women dance. It is as equals that a wife and her husband order their family affairs. And it is as equals that they work and live together. There is thus a stress between the formal structure of tribal life and the actual feelings and emotions that thrust upon it. To relieve this stress is the function of the hunt and the myth.

The myth shows that although the men may rule, it is the women who are also men. In its reliance on the success of a simple trick, it expresses Uraon pleasure in naive cleverness and under this typically Uraon cover, it mildly pokes fun at male incompetence. The balance is therefore righted. The women are recognised to be the equals of men.<sup>16</sup>

It is possible that we may have to connect the custom very deep down with the same tendency that has produced the eonist deviation. The last Jhoria song that I have quoted in this paper does give some point to the supposition that cross-dressing is an expression of 'penis-envy'. I have only given one song of this nature, but there are many on the same lines which suggest that for once the *motiāris* are able to assert themselves against the *cheliks* who so constantly maintain their sexual domination in normal times.

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<sup>16</sup> Archer, 'The Women's Hunt', in *Essays Presented to S. C. Roy* (1942) pp. 187 ff.

Probably several different reasons have combined to produce the rite. The Muria girls dance disguised at the marriage partly to protect the bride, partly to avert hostile magic or the evil eye, partly to restore the sexual balance of the tribe, and partly too simply because they love dressing up and get a lot of fun out of it. It is very amusing to see the unfortunate bridegroom trying to guess which of the many girls before him, all looking exactly alike, is his own wife. If he chooses the wrong girl everyone is delighted; when the right girl darts out of the group and beats him it is an occasion not to be forgotten.

But such cross-dressing is always ceremonial. There are strict taboos on men and women wearing each other's clothes on ordinary occasions, and this makes the rite, when it does occur, all the more exciting and impressive.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Thurston speaks of a similar custom among the Koyi, where the women 'dressed in their lords' clothes' drive the men out to hunt at the Bhudevi Pandaga or Festival of the Earth Goddess. He describes a procession held before such a hunt—'About the middle of the day, we saw a procession approaching as on the previous day, but it consisted entirely of women, the drummers and swordsmen being women dressed up as men. The chaunt and dance were as before, except that the pantomime abounded in the most indecent gestures and attitudes, all illustrative of sexual relations. One girl slipped (or pretended to) and fell. Whereupon, one of those playing a man's part fell upon her to ravish her. A rescue ensued amidst roars of merriment, and the would-be ravisher was in process of being stripped when our modesty compelled us to call an interval'.—Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (London, 1912), Vol. iv, pp. 66 ff.

According to Santal tradition, witchcraft began through a transvestite expedition. Marang Buru had decided to teach men witchcraft, but the women made them drunk and then 'put on pagris and dhoties and stuck goats' beards on their faces' and went to learn the magic art instead—C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909), p. 422.

## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

Mr. Tweedie of Raffles Museum, Singapore, has contributed an article "*Pre-history of Malaya*" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London*, Part 1, 1942. The article is a very short description of different pre-historic tools and potteries found in the Malay peninsula.

The *Modern Review* in its May 1942 issue has published an article on "*Andhra Folk-Songs*" by the famous folk-song and folk-tale collector, Mr. D. Satyarthi. This same journal in its August 1942 issue has published an article on "*The Dravidian of Australia*" by Prof. Sheptern. The learned author emphasises that the aborigines of Australia are more akin to the South Indian Aborigines than to those of the Egyptian or African stock.

Dr. Datta in his article on "*Racial Elements in Caste*" published in May-June 1942 issue of the "*Hindusthan Review*" has opined that the Indian caste system is based on several economic groupings and that the theory, advanced by Risley, that in the Indian caste system "the higher is the nasal index, the lower is the social status of the caste" is not supported by facts.

The same journal in its July 1942 issue has published an article entitled "*The Influence of the Caste System on Education in Ancient India*" by Dr. Altekar. The writer points out that the caste system made education rigid only to a limited degree and that too in its later time.

In the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Journal*, Vol. XXII, Parts III & IV of 1942, there appears an article entitled "*The Sociological Study of the Forms of Marriage in Ancient India*" by Dr. L. Sternbach. The bibliography given in the foot-notes of the article will be of immense value to readers.

*The Journal of the University of Bombay*, July 1942, contains an article on "*Folk-songs from Malwa*" by Dr. G. Pradhan, collected by the writer from the Malwa Harijans. The writer has not mentioned whether the magical interpretation given for each song is his own interpretation or is the interpretation of the Malwas themselves.

The same issue contains a very descriptive and illustrated paper on "*The Origins of Civilization in Mesopotamia*" by Professor S. N. Chakravarty.

*The Bhārātiya Vidyā* in its Vol. III, Part II, May 1942, has published the second extension lecture on "*Indus Civilization*" by Dr. A. D. Pusalker which is an epitome of various publications hitherto made on the much-discussed *Harappa Mohenjo-Daro* excavations.

S. Fuchs has contributed a very instructive article on "*Racial Problems*" in 1942 issue, No. 85, Vol. XV of the *New Review*. The learned author after discussing the 'racial question' in all its aspects has pointed out that no fundamental difference separates the races either physically or mentally and the excessive racialism and nationalism is, in many countries, based on an antiquated and obsolete racial doctrine.

The same journal in No. 92, Vol. XVI, has published an article entitled "*Santal Marriage Customs*" by Th. Roussos. The article is a short account of different types of customs among the Santals.

*The Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4 of 1939-40, May 1942, published following articles :—

1. "*Studies on the Heredity of Palmar Pattern*" by Dr. P. C. Biswas.
2. "*The Practical Value of Social Anthropology*" by C. Margery Lawrence.
3. "*Notes on the Comparative Anthropology of the Christian Mukkuven Women of Travancore*" by Eileen W. E. Macfarlane.
4. "*On the Palmar Prints of the Bengalis*" By Dr. P. C. Biswas.
5. "*Freiherr von Eicksted and His Visit to the Andamans*" by Col. R. B. S. Sewell.
6. "*A Contribution to the Anthropology of the Hindukush Kafirs*" by Albert Herrlich.
7. "*On the Megalithic Monuments of Cochin State*" by K. K. Sen-Gupta.
8. "*Kinship in the Vedic-Period*" by K. P. Chattopadhyay.
9. "*Further Note on the Classification of the Nasal Elevation Index*" by S. S. Sarkar.

*The Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1941 has published an article entitled "*Some Cure Deities*" by Mr. N. Chaudhuri.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

**Essays in Anthropology.** Presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. Edited by J. P. Mills, K. P. Chattopadhyaya, B. S. Guha, D. N. Mazumdar, A. Aiyappan; Maxwell Co., La-Touch Road, Lucknow. Price Rs. 12/-.

The anthropologists who conceived the noble idea of dedicating a souvenir volume of anthropological papers to the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, the doyen of Indian anthropologists, as a tribute to the invaluable services he rendered to the cause of anthropological research in India, deserve the gratitude of all lovers of this subject. It is gratifying to note that the late Rai Bahadur could just go through this volume before his sad demise. The editors are to be congratulated also for securing the contributions of many well known scholars, both Indian and foreign, which make this volume a very useful publication. The articles practically cover the entire field of anthropology including prehistory, social and cultural anthropology, systematics and physical anthropology.

J. P. Mills in the first article discusses "*Some Recent Contact Problems in the Khasi Hills*" He shows how the old practice of shifting cultivation, which did not lead to the impoverishment of soil when properly regulated, has now devastating effects on soil and productivity due to the widespread cultivation of potato introduced over a century ago. The introduction of Christianity has brought in many complications with attendant problems in

inheritance and the marriage between Khasis and non-Khasis, which began since the foundation of Shillong, has made the problem more interesting. Dr. Mandelbaum's article on "*Basic Concepts in Anthropology*" will be of great interest to teachers. In his paper on "*Psychological Interpretation of Culture Traits*" Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta discusses the results of the application of psycho-analytical methods of the leading schools of thought to the ultimate explanation of culture traits based on certain important mental functions. Dr. Sen Gupta comes to the interesting conclusion that the search for ultimate explanation is illusory as the mental function is the resultant of many complex factors such as racial contacts, hereditary trends, influence of environments on the human groups, etc. Dr. Aiyappan deals with the "*Theories of Culture Change and culture contact*". Culture changes are initiated by mutations resulting from the interaction of powerful environmental forces on the minds of great souls or supermen.

Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya gives interesting examples of the adjustment of social behaviour to conflict of cultures from Melanesian societies and the Hindu society of the two contrasted regions of the United Provinces and Bengal in regard to the greater influence of Islam in the latter province. Conflicting tendencies in social behaviour may be eliminated either by the suppression of the discordant factor or by harmonising it by prolonged conditioning or by the creation of a new myth. Dr. D. N. Mazumdar further discusses

Bongaism in relation to the religion of the Hos and the Santhals and shows that 'Bonga' is an impersonal and all pervading power, although it may be identified with the objects of the environments. Dr. E. W. E. Macfarlane contributes an interesting article on "*The New Systematics and Anthropology*". Drs. R. K. Rau and A. Ayer have contributed the results of their "*Anthropological Studies of South Indian Brains*". Dr. G. M. Kurulkar shows in his paper entitled "*Abdominal Bulge in Health (Males)*" that in nonobese healthy persons the bulge is due to the pelvic width being 15. 66% of the total stature.

Dr. Elwin contributes an article on "*Primitive Ideas of Menstruation and the Climacteric in the East Central Provinces of India*". In his paper on "*Religion and Ethics among the Konyak Nagas and other Indian Tribes*" Prof. Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf revises his previous idea of the phenomenon of a supreme deity common to all Nagas and shows that "it is hardly possible to speak of the ethics and beliefs of 'primitive man' in general", and that the deities are personal among most primitive tribes.

Mr. P. G. Shah deals with "*Non-Hindu Elements in the Culture of the Bhils of Gujarat*". Mr. W. G. Archer describes "*The Women's Hunt*" of April 1940, in the Ranchi district, which takes place every twelve years, and suggests a rational explanation of the symbolism implied in it. Rev. Stephen Fucks deals with "*Clan-God Myths and Worship among the Nimar Balhis*". Dr. Karve's paper on "*Some Studies in the making of a Culture Pattern*"



will be of interest to social reformers and administrators desirous of promoting acculturation among the primitives.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, in a thought provoking article on "*The Indus and the Vedic Civilisation*", raises the question of the racial affinity of the Indus people, and suggests that the non-Aryan builders of the Indus civilisation may be equated with the Rigvedic non-Aryans, thus showing that the problem is still open for further research. W. J. Culshaw in "*Folk Consciousness*" of the Santals stresses the need for considering folk-consciousness in dealing with the problems of the aborigines. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee deals with the origin and importance of *Sex-taboos in Primitive Society*". Mr. P. Kodanda Rao in his paper under the caption "*Sociological Superstitions*" discusses the theories of origin and diffusion of culture traits and his conclusion is that each culture trait has its own diffusion-potential varying according as it belongs to either the physical or social sciences or fine arts. Mr. M. B. Bhaduri contributes an article on "*Hindu Influence on Munda Songs*". Lastly Mr. Gulam Ahmad Khan gives a study of "*The Chenehus*".

The volume would have been more representative of anthropological science if Dr. B. S. Guha and other scholars, whose names appeared in the original list of contributors, had made their contributions in their respective fields.

Dr. D. N. Mazumdar has contributed an interesting life-sketch of the late Rai Bahadur and he deserves the gratitude of readers for getting this book in its final form.

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**Loss of Nerve.** A comparative study of the contact of Peoples in the aboriginal areas of Baster State and the Central Provinces of India. - By Verrier Elwin. Pp. 51, with maps.

**The Problem of Aborigines in India.** By A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E., *R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture*, 1941, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pp. 37.

Dr. Elwin has presented in a scientific manner in this fine little brochure the evil effects of the contact or conflict of primitive and modern Indian cultures which deserve serious consideration by reformers, politicians and administrators. The net effect of this conflict has been disastrous and has resulted in the 'loss of nerve' of the aboriginal peoples. The author has traced the causes of this depression in the case of the aboriginal peoples of the Central Provinces and Baster State, particularly the Gonds and the Baigas. He distinguishes three distinct classes among these, namely, the wealthy aristocratic and landed class, the most numerous semi-civilised class which has come in contact with the higher culture, and finally, the wild and most primitive class which still possess the blessings of a 'vigorous and healthy tribal life'. It is the second class which has suffered the greatest 'moral depression and decay'. The main causes are loss of land, loss of the freedom of the forest, disappearance of the ritual hunt, the suppression of the home distillery, nervous breakdown and moral degradation from the complicated machinery of civil and criminal law as opposed to the tribal laws, the effects of an educational system unsuited to their needs, economic distress arising out

of the unscrupulous dealings of money-lenders and businessmen, the collapse of tribal industries due to the monopolies of particular industries by certain tribes leading eventually to the formation of new and separate castes like the Lohars of Baster who are of Maria stock, competition with outside products, and a general sense of discouragement derived from a feeling of inferiority. The impact with the Hindu religion has not been beneficial as it undermines the aboriginal's confidence in his tribal religion without teaching him the ennobling ideals of the Hindu religion. The movements for reforms initiated by the leaders of the aboriginals themselves have often been failures owing to their origin from a sense of inferiority of tribal practices and the Hinduised aboriginal far from winning the respect of his co-religionists has often been relegated to the ranks of the depressed classes.

The attitude of the uninformed Indian nationalists is also unhelpful, as the politicians and reformers do not realise the necessity of bringing anthropological knowledge to the task and are sometimes suspicious of the Government's policy of protection.

Although, as the author says, this is a study in diagnosis, still the principles advocated by him for the remedy are so important that they will bear repetition even in a review. These are the recognition of the importance of some of the customs in tribal life, of the different requirements of each of the three distinct types, and of the necessity of economic betterment before educational, social or political reform.

What is true of the tribes of the Central Provinces is also true of most of the aboriginal tribes of other parts of India. The author has sounded a timely note of warning. If the problems of the aboriginals do not receive due care and attention from our leaders and reformers on scientific lines, the future of these 'most ancient, most remarkable and most delightful of the peoples of India' is indeed gloomy.

In contrast with this admirable scientific treatment of the problem of the aboriginals Mr. Thakkar's thesis is typical of the attitude of politicians and social reformers with a prejudice against anthropological facts and methods. While criticising the policy of 'isolationism' advocated by some anthropologists, Mr. Thakkar makes the following amazing statement: "But to keep these people confined to and isolated in their inaccessible hills and jungles is something like keeping them in glass cases of a museum for the curiosity of purely academic persons". It is a pity that in our country the leaders of public opinion on whom devolves so great a responsibility of directing the future policies of ameliorating the lots of the aboriginals should pay such scant regard to indisputable scientific facts. The inevitable result of the policy of "assimilation", in spite of the safeguards, as advocated by Mr. Thakkar, will be a rapid decadence of their numbers and before long many of the primitive tribes will disappear. What is required is a slow process of acculturation without sudden and drastic changes which will cause maladjustment. For this the special requirements of individual tribes must be first of all studied and for

this the worker cannot do without anthropological knowledge. There is no simple panacea for this complicated problem.

It is natural for Mr. Thakkar to be critical of the suggestion of Dr. Hutton for the creation of "self-governing tribal areas", but may we humbly request him to consider the effects of "indirect or dependent rule" as applied to the African tribes ?

The object of Mr. Thakkar's thesis is no doubt very laudable, but the prerequisites of suggesting remedies for ameliorating the lots of the aborigines are lacking in it. The first requisite is that the aborigines should first of all be divided into categories, as has been done by Dr. Elwin, and the needs of each determined previously. All primitive practices are not harmful and each practice should be examined in the light of the economic and social pattern of each culture. For example, shifting cultivation is not always an unmitigated evil. Mills thinks that 'wisely regulated "Jhuming" can be carried on indefinitely without causing deterioration. Sudden introduction of money crops has upset the economic balance of primitive society.

There are a good many useful suggestions in the chapters of illiteracy, ill-health, defects in administration, etc., but we think that these would have been of real practical help if the author had considered that special conditions give rise to special needs and require special treatment.

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**Marriage and Family in Mysore.** By M. N. Srinivas, Bombay; New Book Company, 1942.—Price Rs. 7/8/-.

The author has taken great pains in collecting materials pertaining to every aspect of the institution of marriage and family among the Hindus of Mysore. The data collected by him and their critical analysis will be of interest and use to students of Comparative Sociology. It is interesting to note the similarities of certain Mysore practices with those in the Hindu Societies of other parts of India, as the foundations of all these are in the ancient Sanskrit culture of India. The author notes the cultural affinities between the lower non-Brahmin castes and the "tribes". The chapter on "Other restrictions" is very interesting as it throws light on the relation between social organisation and sex-taboos. The author says that "Even in these days marrying a sister's daughter or a maternal uncle's daughter is very common". The role of the maternal uncle in ceremonies is also very interesting. The role of the prostitute in the marriage rites is a novel feature. The author has analysed the symbolism and the magical significance of the rituals. The puberty rites and the pregnancy rites and taboos have been similarly studied. The book also deals with death ceremonies, vratas and festivals, etc., religious prostitutes, position of women, etc. We commend the book to students of Sociology.

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**Ancient Sind, *A Study in Civilisation.*** By C. L. Mariwala, Tutor in History, D. J. Sind College, Karachi, Price Rs. 1-8-0, with map.

Mr. Mariwala has brought together in a readable and summarised form the results of investigations of different workers into the Chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus valley. Students of prehistoric culture will be grateful to Mr. Mariwala for this critical review which not only gives a synthesis of this ancient culture but also suggests problems for further research. Mr. Mariwala has discussed the evidences about the authors of this civilisation, and has brought forward additional proofs in favour of their Dravidian origin. He is also in favour of the east to west migration of the Dravidian culture of this ancient period.

It would have been better if the author had divided his essay into chapters as it is difficult to refer to a particular topic from the table of contents following only the page reference.

*S. C. Chatterjee.*

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**Ancient India and South Indian History & Culture,** Vols. I and II, by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, Price Rs. 10/-.

The volumes under review are a re-issue of essays and papers printed on various occasions at different times, with slight revision in some cases. Vol. I consists of 25 chapters beginning with a General Historical Survey up to 700 A. D.,

followed by chapters on the History of South India from the earliest times down to 1300 A. D. Vol II consists of chapters on the History of South India from 1300 A. D. onwards.

The mind of the historical scholar is in greater danger than that of any other scholar of becoming a kind of Pantechnicon, in which every sort of furniture is heaped and packed together, instead of being a habitable home, where things useful and beautiful are arranged in their places, and in due relation to their special purposes. We are glad to find that the learned author has avoided this peril. He has the requisite equipment of a scientific historian—a thorough mastery of detail, combined with a breadth of treatment and vision which enables one to see the wood for the trees, to find and to keep a leading clue even through the midst of a tangled web of confusion. But in the nature of things, the volumes suffer from unavoidable overlapping and repetition, and from a lack of unity. Yet we fully agree with Mr. V. A. Smith when he says that notwithstanding the defects inherent in an assemblage of detached essays, these volumes can be safely and cordially recommended as being readable and generally sound books on South Indian History and Culture.

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**The Mahabharata**, critically edited by Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Vols. I and II, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.



Dr. Sukhtankar's critical edition of the **Mahabharata** bids fair to open up a new epoch in the domain of Indology. We heartily congratulate the editor and his collaborators on the monumental production. The present volumes bear ample testimony to the editor's untiring energy, vast erudition and keen critical acumen. On the basis of a careful collation of MSS. from various sources and by adopting a thorough and exhaustive method of treatment, the editor has sought to reconstruct a text which in the main seems to be the nearest approach to the original of the very diverse rescensions into which the great epic has been cast at different times in different parts of India. The most striking and commendable feature of the volumes under review is the learned and elaborate prologomenon, giving a lucid and masterly exposition of the text problem of the epic and clarifying the main issues bearing thereon. We daresay that, when completed, the work will stand forth as an enduring monument to the editor's amazing industry and unrivalled scholarship.

*M. N. Banerji.*

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We have received from the Provincial Press Advisor, Bihar, a series of articles on "**Air Raid Precautions**" for publications. The fourth article is printed below.

## **Air Raid Precautions.**

### **Fires.**

If enemy aeroplanes ever attack Bihar, they are likely to drop incendiary bombs, i. e., bombs which will set fire to buildings. They can drop thousands at a time.

Do not be afraid of an incendiary bomb; it is harmless after the first minute except for its heat. In the first minute it will throw out a lot of sparks which will set fire to articles in the room and cause burns if they come in contact with the human body.

You cannot put out an incendiary bomb. You **MUST NOT** throw water on the bomb. This only makes the sparks fly faster. You must not use a chemical extinguisher as the liquid in contact with a bomb makes dangerous poisonous gases which are harmful to humans.

What should you do then, if an incendiary bomb drops on or through a door or window into your house?

- (1) If you can afford to buy one then purchase a "Stirrup pump". It is quite simple to work with three persons; in England ladies work them. Your warden will tell you how to use it with success and how you can put out fires started by the bomb and its sparks.

- (2) Have buckets of sand or earth, without any pieces of wood, stone, rubbish in it, kept ready from before in your house in a place easily accessible to all parts and known to all occupants. When the bomb stops spluttering, pour sand on to the burning bomb with a *shovel* with a long handle. This smothers it, causes it to burn less fiercely and reduces the heat. When approaching the bomb to pour sand over it you should have a wet blanket folded in two and carried over the left arm making four folds. This will protect you from any sparks that may fly and keep off the heat.

IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT THE FIRE STARTED BY AN INCENDIARY BOMB IS PUT OUT AT ONCE.

How will you do this?

- (1) Shut all doors and windows if you can; this will cut off air and do much to prevent the fire from spreading.
- (2) (a) Have several buckets or kerosine tins of water kept ready in your house, shop, etc., in an accessible place known to all occupants so that you have water ready to *throw*, and it must be thrown with force, on the fire.
- (b) Sand also is a good fire extinguisher, have some bucket filled ready.

*Remember*—(1) Do your best to put the fire out. If you cannot, send some one to summon help.

- (2) See to the safety of all those in the house. If the house is in danger get the occupants out. If you have to search the whole house, start at the top and work down to the comparative safety of the lower floors.
- (3) Close all doors and windows and keep them closed. This is of great value. An ordinary door will hold back smoke and hot gases almost indefinitely and will check the passage of a flame for a considerable time ; moreover it will restrict the movement of air currents, and without air a fire can only burn slowly.

If the door of a room is left open the intensity of the fire will be increased, the staircases and passages will act as a flue and the fire will soon spread all over the building.

If by any chance a person does not get out of a house before the fire has got a hold or while extinguishing the fire itself, the following points are worth knowing :—

- (1) It is often possible to move across a floor, or down stairs which may have been weakened by the effects of fire, by keeping close to the wall. If one has to crawl down stairs then come head first ;
- (2) In almost all fires there will be smoke, quite a small fire will produce a large amount in which it would be difficult to remain unless the correct method is understood. Air near the floor will be comparatively free of smoke and will be cooler. In a room full of smoke

one should always crawl along the floor with the mouth as close to the floor as possible. The air is purer and one can see things better ;

- (3) If a door which opens towards you has to be opened and there is possibly a fire the other side place one of your feet a few inches from it before opening it. It may fly open but your foot will check it. The need for this precaution is that hot gases in a room develop pressure and may burst open the door and flames and smoke and hot air may overcome any one on the other side ;
- (4) If one has to escape from a room from a single-storied roof or by the window without the aid of a rope or even dhotis joined together *do not* jump. Get on the window or edge of the roof with the leg outside, turn over and slide out till you can just hold the the edge of the roof or window still with your fingers and then let go. This will lessen the drop. When you land on the ground drop on your toes—not on your heels otherwise your spine may be jarred and your neck even broken.
- (5) If you have a rope and want to lower a person tie the rope to some furniture or if there is none stand on it inside the room. A person, even the heaviest, can then lower himself.

You may have to deal with persons overcome by the fumes of gases and smoke. It is no easy matter to lift an insensible person heavier than one-self and carrying involves the maximum danger in smoke both

from suffocation and falling by not being able to see. To move an insensible person, turn him on to his back on the floor; tie his wrists together, kneel across him and place your head through the loop formed by his arms. Then crawl with him on hands and knees.

If the person is upstairs, lie him on the back, head downwards on the stairs, place your hands under his arm-pits so that his head rests on the crook of your arm and allow him to slide down the stairs.

Never allow a person whose clothes are on fire to remain standing for one moment. Fatalities nearly always arise from shock of burning about the face and head. If a person starts to run, trip him up at once and roll him on the ground, or in a coat or a blanket if you have one handy. If your own clothes catch on fire, clap your hands on your mouth, lie down and roll on the ground.

**IMPORTANT**—When air raids are likely clear the roof and top-rooms of rubbish and inflammable material, purdahs, durries, carpets or anything that is not essential must be cleared out.

*Remember*—Never throw water on to an incendiary bomb.

Act promptly.

Prompt action may be the means of saving lives.

Prompt action will save property.

Prompt action will prevent serious damage.

Prompt action will defeat the object of the raid.

**KEEP COOL. ~~KEEP CALM.~~**

**DON'T GET NERVOUS [GHABROED].**

**KEEP THIS PAMPHLET CAREFULLY FOR REFERENCE.**

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# ESSAYS IN ANTHROPOLOGY.

*Presented to*

**RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY**

*Edited By*

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B. S. Guha

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IMAGES OF BIR KUAR  
CASTE DEITY OF KISHNAUT AHIRS  
PALAMAU AND SHAHABAD DISTRICTS  
BIHAR

# MAN IN INDIA

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## COMMENT

ALL PROGRESS, a great anthropologist has said, is progress in charity, and another, older, English writer—a mystic of the fourteenth century—declared that ‘for failing of love is all our travail.’ It is obvious that our present political and international troubles are due to this failure in love : it is less evident that much of the inadequacy of modern sociology and ethnography may be traced to the same cause. A science of man that is not vital and alight with love must lack precision, for only love observes with care. It may degenerate into a mere recording of specimens or collection of curiosities, if it does not delight itself in human beings. Without love research into the ways of man becomes a vulgar curiosity, an offensive voyeurism ; attempts to aid and succour smack of the reformer rather than the friend.

Nowhere has the power of love in guiding and inspiring scholarship been shown more clearly than in the life and character of the founder of this journal, Sarat Chandra Roy. Anthropology in India means almost inevitably a pre-occupation with poor people : Roy’s love of the poor led him not only to study them, but to fight for them. He was the true Dinabhandu, one of those who lost his health and vigour ‘overplied, in Liberty’s defence.’ But Roy’s affection for his people was scientific, not sentimental. It was his reasoned love for them that made him intolerant of slovenly and inaccurate writing : love drove him ‘to scorn delights and live laborious days’ in the service of Truth that was also the service of his people.

The scholar who is also a lover will have the heart, even if he lacks the voice, of a poet. Roy had the generosity, the enthusiasm, the largeness of the

best poets. He was always ready to share his knowledge, he loved to co-operate, he was ever anxious to help the beginner and even the failure. He stood far above the petty squabbles, the regional jealousies, the self-centred egoism that have too often disfigured the record of Indian anthropology. There was no pride in him : he knew that the door into the realm of knowledge was low and humble : Alice had to become little to enter into Wonderland.

For Roy, then, the discipline of anthropology was a pilgrimage towards the *sainte réalité*, the country of entire and perfect truth. It aimed at illuminating the whole kingdom of humanity, its obscure past, its sad and doubtful present, the certain triumph (in which he trusted) of its future. Anthropology was the search for Beauty, expressed in terms of Truth.

For this reason, the Editors who have undertaken the heavy task of following in the footsteps of genius, propose in the next few years to give emphatic attention to the place that poetry and art hold in Indian village life and should have in ethnographic studies. 'More and more', said Matthew Arnold, 'mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us. Without poetry, our science will appear incomplete ; and most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry.'

To the aboriginal, religion is often a nightmare but poetry ever consoles and sustains him. Over against the false interpretations of the magician and the priest is the pure vision of the poet. This is true even of the so-called 'primitive' and 'savage.' To surprise that vision and to learn from it is the privilege of the ethnographer. For all knowledge has a certain loveliness, not least the science of that wayward, pitiful, yet wholly adorable creature that is MAN.

VERRIER ELWIN /

# FOLK-POEMS

## *Nine Uraon Poems for the Sarhul Festival*

COLLECTED IN RANCHI DISTRICT,

CHOTA NAGPUR, 1936.

(TRANSLATED BY W. G. ARCHER).

### I

Brightly shines the Sarhul moon  
Quietly cries the married girl  
In the morning the moon is shining  
And the married girl sobs.

### II

Brother where have you been  
The girl's tears are falling  
In the morning, brother, O younger brother  
The girl's tears are falling.

### III

Where are you going, O pretty *juri*  
On the cart with a tooth brush  
O *juri*, you are going to your father-in-law's  
On a cart with a tooth brush.

### IV

Girl, at the water fall  
The green fishes are coming  
Cast the net, girl  
As slowly they come.

### V

Girl  
The white blossom in the ear  
Will it last ?  
The scarlet on the brow  
Will stay till death  
Will the white blossom in the ear  
Last ?

## VI

What a naughty world  
With the boys and girls dancing together  
Never trust a boy in the morning  
When the boys and girls are dancing together.

## VII

Give me a feather brother  
And I will dance the *bhejja* with you  
Give me a feather in the morning  
And I'll dance the *bhejja* with you.

## VIII

How well you dance  
With your girl watching  
In the morning as you dance  
With your girl watching.

## IX

What a grand girl you are  
But you are new to the village  
Do not go to the rice lands, girl  
A jackal waits there in the morning  
Girl, do not go down to the rice lands.

---

*Fourteen Uraon Marriage Poems*

COLLECTED IN RANCHI DISTRICT,

CHOTA NAGPUR, 1936

(TRANSLATED BY W. G. ARCHER).

## I.

How shall I buy a *riyo* bird ?  
How shall I buy a lovely wife ?  
With words a *riyo* bird is bought  
With words like flowers a lovely wife is got.

## II.

How shall I buy, mother, a red and yellow cloth  
How shall I buy, mother, a beautiful girl  
With money I shall buy the red and yellow cloth  
With words I shall buy the beautiful girl  
Where shall I put the red and yellow cloth ?  
Where shall I put the lovely girl ?  
In a chest I shall put the red and yellow cloth  
In a room I shall put the beautiful girl.

## III.

My dhoti and your sari  
Are packed in the box  
Let us go to Calcutta  
How long will our youth last ?  
On bazaar day, girl,  
I will buy you bangles  
Let us go to Calcutta  
How long will our youth last ?

## IV.

In a little plot of maize  
There enters a thief  
No it is not a thief, sister  
It is the young and flirting boy.

## V.

The well is of stone and brick  
And there the rani is drinking the shining water  
The pigeons are drinking the water  
The doves are drinking the water  
Drinking it in pairs.

## VI.

The moon, the moon rises  
Glistening the moon rises  
Shining the moon rises  
The ten, the ten brothers  
The ten brothers gamble  
The twenty brothers lay their odds.

## VII.

I planted a mango, father  
Two mango trees I planted  
O *juri* like a swan  
O lovely *juri*  
I sold a daughter  
I sold two daughters  
That daughter overlooks the land  
That daughter is a *juri* like a swan.

## VIII.

You cut the big mango at its root  
You broke the branches  
You picked the long leaves  
You pulled away the bunch of fruit.

## IX.

In the little plot of *jhingi*  
Comes a thief  
No it is not a thief sister  
It is the bride chosen by the mother  
The bride chosen by the father.

## X.

East and west pick the long plantains, mother  
And light the lamps in upper Barwe  
From the jungle the clear water flows  
From the sea comes dirty water  
Into a *lota* put the clear water  
Into a dish pour the dirty water.

## XI.

I am lost, mother, I am lost  
Lost through a dish of water  
Lost through a bowl of water  
The younger brother blocks the spring  
The elder brother digs for his living  
The sister has gone  
The village is empty  
My house is sad and still.

## XII.

Where are you coming from  
Beautiful parrot ?  
The parrot speaks the name of Ram  
Your feathers are green  
Your crest is red, parrot  
The parrot says the name of Ram.

## XIII.

In the heart of the jungle, elder brother  
The mustard is in bloom  
While I live with you, brother  
I shall pick the crop  
After you have given me in marriage, brother  
Who will pick it for you ?

## XIV.

You have sold your daughter, mother  
You have done well  
Your house is empty  
You have brought a daughter-in-law, mother  
You have done well  
Your house is brightened.

---

*Twenty Pardhan Love Songs*

COLLECTED IN THE MAIKAL HILLS, CENTRAL PROVINCES,  
1930-1940.

(TRANSLATED BY VERRIER ELWIN AND SHAMRAO HIVALE).

## I

Why let your heart burn  
Why not rest and sleep  
Spreading your red cloth  
Clasping the earth in your arms.

## II

At midnight the dogs are barking  
The stars have come into the sky  
Long are the leaves of the young bamboos  
And breaking through them comes my thief  
At midnight the dogs are barking.



## III

How the clouds thundered  
In the dark night  
Snakes and a tigress  
But for love of you  
I was not afraid  
I would desert my own life  
For love of you  
I have brought a silver ball  
For love of you  
When I put on my coat  
Remembrance comes  
I was not afraid  
Of snakes and a tigress  
In the dark.

## IV

O my black darling, move the straw shutter  
Don't make a sound, I'm coming secretly  
Spread the mat for me, I'm coming secretly  
I'm coming naked, O my black darling  
I'm going to lie with you, O my black darling  
I'll come without a sound, O my black darling  
O my black darling, move the straw shutter  
Don't make a sound, I'm coming secretly.

## V

You are coming very slowly, why do you delay, O my  
black cobra  
I have brought you anklets, measured to your feet  
Why do you delay, O my black cobra  
I have brought you a sari, measured to your body  
Why do you delay, O my black cobra  
I have brought you armlets, measured to your arms  
Why do you delay, O my black cobra  
You are coming very slowly, why do you delay, O my  
black cobra.

## VI.

Enchanter, for what fault of mine  
Are you beating me  
Lying on their bed the two embrace  
The girl is lovely as a cobra  
Why are you beating me  
You have snapped the knots of my jacket  
And with my own cloth you are wiping  
The moisture from my face.

## VII

*Jhir jhir* ripples the stream  
Plantains are growing on the bank  
Your body is like the stalk of a plantain  
Sweet as the divided mango is your body  
As the *koel* longs for a mango  
So my life longs for you  
I cannot hold my life in patience  
Your body is like a plaintain stalk  
Sweet as a divided mango.

## VIII

My bed is a bullock with a sounding bell  
But when you leave me it is quiet  
Ignorant ploughman, when I first bathed  
You were to come in ten days' time  
Instead you took a month  
And yet my Raja though you are away  
From me every day  
Your memory stands like a pillar.

## IX

In Kuar we were friends  
In Kartik he became the lantern of my house  
O bring back my lighted lamp  
Or in a flash I'll send my life away  
Write, write a letter, send it to the city  
But there is no news, no message  
O find my lighted lamp and bring him here  
Or in a flash I'll send my life away.

## X

If you cannot swing to and fro  
 Catching my shoulders  
 What right have you  
 To be called young and a man.

## XI

They sleep together on the naked ground  
 Over them the wind blows  
 Over them pass the waves of the wind.<sup>1</sup>

## XII

Her youth cries aloud  
 As she walks along the path  
 There is *sendur* in her hair  
 And gold-rings in her ears  
 So she of the slender waist  
 Goes drunken with her youth  
 Her cloth is thin as fish scales  
 Her jacket is of silk  
 But girl your Lord is impotent  
 Why not run away with me  
 For as a lantern needs a wick  
 As the wick cries out for oil  
 As the eyes long for sleep  
 So does youth demand the play of love.

## XIII

It was you who spilt the milk  
 On the way, on the way  
 So why are you accusing me  
 The flirt was coming on the way  
 The Ahirin was going to him  
 They met below the pipar tree  
 And there they spilt the milk.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The symbols in this song are all sexual. The ground is naked as the lovers are. The blowing of the wind and the waves are common synonyms for the sexual act.

<sup>2</sup> This song is interpreted by the villagers as meaning that a girl has been caught red-handed by her husband and she tries to turn the tables on him by accusing him of similar infidelity.

## XIV

Every evening  
 The crows sit talking  
 But my Raja  
 Without a word  
 Left me  
 Without a word  
 Every evening  
 The crows sit talking.<sup>1</sup>

## XV

The parrot weeps without its cage  
 My life weeps with support  
 How empty the house is  
 Without a girl  
 Day by day my body decays  
 There is no one to help me  
 No one ahead and no one behind  
 No one to give me wisdom  
 How empty the house is  
 Without a girl.

## XVI

How can I go into the inner room  
 My anklets sound *chunur chunur*  
 The wheat-bread is soft  
 The oil drips from it  
 O lover, eat, and you will be content  
 My anklets sound *chunur chunur*.<sup>2</sup>

## XVII

When the fruit burdens the mango  
 The mahua flowers fall  
 At midnight all are sleeping  
 Come then when all the world is sleeping.

1 The crows are human lovers. Evening is the time when they are free after the day's hard labour to sit and talk of love.

2 The picture here is of a youth who goes to visit his lover in her own house. She gives him his supper and he begs her to go with him into the inner room which with its grain bins and darkness is a very common place for the meeting of lovers. She says that if she goes the noise of her anklets will betray her. The soft wheat bread and the oil are obvious sexual symbols.

## XVIII

You have brought pearly beads  
And tied them in your hair  
But now stop dancing in my eyes  
Or I will tie you round my neck.

## XIX

How tightly  
Your new jacket  
Fits your lovely body.

## XX

The lotus blossoms in the lake  
Its scent goes to the sky  
Two bees fly down  
The scent, O love, went to the sky,  
And two bees flew down.

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# SUICIDE AMONG THE ABORIGINALS OF BASTAR STATE

BY VERRIER ELWIN

THE COMMITTEE for the Study of Suicide established in New York in 1936 included in its aims *Ethnological Studies*, or 'comprehensive investigation of suicide among primitive races, for this is a rather frequent occurrence among many primitive races still extant and when studied may throw some light on suicide as a psycho-biological phenomenon.'<sup>1</sup> At about the same time, Laubscher in South Africa was also urging the importance of such studies: 'It is generally believed that the rate of suicide increases with civilisation. For this reason I consider that whatever evidence can be produced about suicide in a primitive culture is of great importance to psychiatry.'<sup>2</sup>

In India, however, this subject has been almost entirely neglected. The attention of scholars has been diverted by the better documented and sensational examples of ceremonial or religious suicide. Thus there is ample literature on Sati, the custom whereby a widow devoted herself on her husband's funeral pyre<sup>3</sup>; on the ceremony of Traga, a form of suicide in defence of property or principle<sup>4</sup>; on the process of Dharna, sometimes practised by a creditor to extort his dues from a recalcitrant debtor<sup>5</sup>; on the 'awful rite of Johur' wherein thousands of Rajput women died rather than face captivity; on the ceremonial suicides beneath the wheels of the car of Jagannatha at Puri<sup>6</sup>. A place famous for suicides was the Daitya ka Har, or Devil's Bone, whence those

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<sup>1</sup> *Medical Review of Reviews*, New York, April 1936, 169-170.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. F. LAUSCHER, *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology* (London, 1937), 290.

<sup>3</sup> A full account of the literature will be found in N. M. PENZER, *The Ocean of Story* (London, 1925), iv, 255 ff.

<sup>4</sup> R. V. RUSSELL, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, (London, 1916), ii, 259 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 265 f.

<sup>6</sup> W. W. HUNTER, *Orissa* (London, 1872), i, 305 ff. Hunter rightly contrasts the Cruickshank-illustrated exaggerations of Thackeray, who describes 'the hideous moving palace, the horrible body-crusher, under which unhappy millions were crushed to death' with the 'insignificant' number of actual cases 'registered by the dispassionate candour of English officials.' Another English writer who exploited this theme was Charlotte Bronte who speaks of 'the prostrate votary' before the 'annihilating craunch.'

desiring children hurled themselves down and occasionally escaped.<sup>1</sup> Another such place was behind the peak of Kedar, where the Pandavas devoted themselves.<sup>2</sup>

But of suicide as the fruit of ordinary despair or domestic tragedy we have few records from India, least of all from among her primitive people. The great volumes of the Ethnographic Survey are practically silent ; there is not a word about the subject in the works of Sarat Chandra Roy. For the tribes of peninsular India we not only have no detailed study ; there is hardly a hint about the suicide situation. For the tribes on India's borders, we have a little more information. Among the Veddas, Seligman tells us, suicide is rare : he records one case where a wife publicly insulted her husband over his intrigue with another woman—he felt so disgraced by the publicity that he shot himself with his gun<sup>3</sup>. Among the Lepchas, however, suicide is said to be 'fairly frequent.' Every one of the six cases recorded by Gorer were 'immediately subsequent to a public reproof.' Five of the six were relatively young men, the sixth was a young girl who drowned herself after being reproved for laziness and promiscuity. Gorer heard of one case of suicide from grief. Women kill themselves by drowning, men generally with the aconite poison they use on their arrows.<sup>4</sup>

In Assam, suicide is common only among the Lhota Nagas. Mills speaks of 'the extraordinary readiness' and the extremely trivial grounds of their suicides. 'I have known a man hang himself because the elders of his village fined him fifteen rupees—a sum he could well afford to pay. Usually, however, a love affair is the cause, and cases of lovers, who for some reason cannot marry, taking poison together, are common. Little though he knows or cares of the details of the life hereafter, the Lhota never

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<sup>1</sup> J. TOD, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (London, 1829-32), ii, 681, who also gives several accounts of the Juhar.

<sup>2</sup> W. CROOKE, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (London, 1896), i, 256 ; G. W. TRAILL and J. H. BATTEN, *Statistical Sketch of Kumaun* (Agra, 1851), 58 ; E. T. ATKINSON, *The Himalayan Districts* (Allahabad, 1882), ii, 773 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. G. and B. Z. SELIGMAN, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), 88.

<sup>4</sup> G. GORER, *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938), 269, 396.

doubts that there is such a life, and lovers die professing their sure faith that they will be united beyond the grave'<sup>1</sup>. The method of suicide is poison made from the root of a common flowering plant called *rhisa*.<sup>2</sup> It is taken in liquor, and death follows intoxication.<sup>3</sup>

Among the other Naga tribes suicide is said to be rare. It is an *apodia* death, accursed and contagious. The body must be buried at the back of the house or in broken ground where men do not walk about.<sup>4</sup> Hutton only knew of three such deaths among the Angami Nagas; one of them was that of a man heavily indebted.<sup>5</sup> To the Rengma Nagas in their natural state 'suicide seems to be absolutely unknown.' Mills knew of only one case, that of a Rengma who had become a Baptist Christian<sup>6</sup>. Among the Lakhers also, suicide is very rare; after an experience of many years Parry could only recollect one case.<sup>7</sup>

Compared with these reports, the figures that I will give presently for Bastar State (though low in relation to world statistics) may seem abnormally high. But in all such comparisons, one caution must be borne in mind. The higher figures for Bastar may simply mean that methods of enquiry have been more thorough—on this particular point—or the people less reticent. Throughout India information is often concealed from the authorities. Unless special investigations are made, therefore, figures will always be too low and facts inadequate.<sup>8</sup>

It was while I was working on the 1941 Census in Bastar State that I became interested in the problem of aboriginal suicide. Bastar is a large Indian State with a population of over 600,000 and an area the size of Belgium, lying to the south of the Central Provinces and north-east of the Nizam's Dominions. The great

1 J. P. MILLS, *The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), 20.

2 Ibid., 82.

3 J. H. HUTTON, *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), 229.

4 J. H. HUTTON, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), 262.

5 HUTTON, *The Angami Nagas*, 229.

6 J. P. MILLS, *The Rengma Nagas* (London, 1937), 221.

7 N. E. PARRY, *The Lakhers* (London, 1932), 265.

8 Even in Europe 'the numbers of actual suicides is understated to a greater or less extent. For example, in England and Wales, when an inquiry has been held and an "open" verdict is returned, the death is not classified as suicide,' though it often must be so in fact. See S. de JASTRZEBSKI, Art. 'Suicide,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., 532 f.



majority of the population are aboriginals living for the most part in hills and forests still isolated and difficult of access. The State is under sympathetic British management and has been fortunate in having a series of Administrators keenly interested in aboriginal problems and in the scientific approach to them. I must express my deep gratitude to Mr. A. N. Mitchell, I.C.S., Administrator, 1940-42 and to Mr. K. Radhakrishnan, I.C.S., his successor, for the continual help and encouragement they gave me during this and my other enquiries. It is obvious that a study of what is after all a semi-criminal subject would be impossible without the help of the police. Mr. A. C. Mayberry, M.B.E., State Superintendent of Police, went to great trouble to provide me with statistics and other information. He collected from police stations throughout the State all the records of suicides that had not been eliminated. Without his aid this paper could not have been prepared; with it, it has the authority of official statistics and extensive and careful police investigations. I must also express my gratitude to Thakur Manbahal Singh, a Hindu police official of the widest sympathies and deep understanding of the Bastar aboriginals, and to many members of the subordinate police staff.

In this paper I propose to examine the aboriginal suicides in Bastar during the past ten years. I will begin by giving statistics of all cases of suicide, and will then proceed to examine in detail 80 cases about which I have been able to get special information.

During the ten years 1931 to 1940, the population of Bastar rose from 524,721 to 634,912 and in the whole State there were 245 suicides, of all tribes and castes, during this period.<sup>1</sup> I will first give a table classifying these suicides according to tribe or caste. This is not easy because of the very great confusion into which the statistics of the State have been thrown by the habit of the people calling themselves by different names at different

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<sup>1</sup> This works out very roughly at about 50 suicides to the million every year. The figure is low compared to European standards. *The Encyclopedia Britannica* gives the quinquennial suicide rate for 1921-25. The average number to the million each year was 101 in England and Wales, 116 in the U.S.A., 217 in Japan, 221 in Germany and 230 in Switzerland. Figures vary greatly from time to time, but those for Japan, Germany and Switzerland are invariably high.

times. In this paper I propose to follow Grigson's classification<sup>1</sup> for it is simple and is based on cultural realities. But Grigson's names for the people are not those by which they call themselves and hence both police and census figures have to be adjusted to suit ethnographic requirements. All such figures, therefore, must be taken as approximate—yet even so they give a reasonable picture of the demographic situation.

According to Grigson, then, the chief tribes in the State are these—the Hill Marias who inhabit the wild and lonely Abujhmar Mountains; the Bison-horn Marias, a large and most attractive tribe, deriving their name from a magnificent dancing-dress, who live in the south of the State, in the Dantewara, Jagdalpur and Konta Tahsils and the Sukma Zamindari; the Murias of the northern Tahsils, Kondagaon and Narayanpur, whose culture centres round the *ghotul* or village dormitory; the Muria of the Jagdalpur Tahsil, aboriginals of Maria and northern Muria stock who have been slightly—but only slightly—sophisticated by life in the open country and proximity to the capital and the Palace; the Bhattras, a tribe previously classed as Gond, probably a sophisticated group of Murias; the Dhurwas, or Parjas, an interesting tribe of the Jagdalpur Tahsil and Sukma Zamindari, related to the great Poroja tribe of Orissa.

These are the main Bastar tribes. Some of them now call themselves Gonds, others, in the south, claim the name of Dorla. Aborigines who do iron work are called Lohar, or Muria-Lohar; those who fish are Kuruk. There are also groups of Savaras, Telangas and others. With the aborigines live members of the Hindu occupational castes, Rawats or cowherds, Kumbhars or potters, Kalar liquor-sellers, Mahara and Ganda weavers, most of whom are recruited from the Marias and Murias and live in almost the same style. In the suicide list will be noted also the names Dhakar and Halba. The Halbas are the old militia of the State, and their language is spoken everywhere as a second tongue. The Dhakars are probably descendants of Halbas who have allied themselves to the higher Hindu castes, and by their ability and enterprise have won for themselves a good position in the Bastar social system.

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<sup>1</sup> See W. V. GRIGSON, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (Oxford, 1938), *passim*.

TABLE ONE

*Number of Suicides in Bastar in ten years, 1931-1940, shown by tribes and castes (245 cases)*

Tribe or Caste						Estimated Population in 1931	Number of Suicides
Hill Maria <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	..	..	11,500	18
Bison-horn Maria	..	..	..	..	..	156,058	93
Muria (northern)	..	..	..	..	..	78,000	22
Muria (others)	..	..	..	..	..	32,000	11
Dhurwa	..	..	..	..	..	17,568	6
Bhattra	..	..	..	..	..	36,611	12
Savara	..	..	..	..	..	300	4
Gond	..	..	..	..	..	24,407	2
Telenga	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	9
Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	7,500	2
Total 'Aboriginal'	..	..	..	..	..	379,082	179
Dhakar	..	..	..	..	..	9,000	7
Halba	..	..	..	..	..	16,152	16
Occupational Hindu castes	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Total 'Hindu'	..	..	..	..	..	149,00	55

In addition to the above there were 11 cases where the tribe or caste was not properly recorded, making a total of 245. The population figures are partly based on Grigson's estimates in his *Maria Gonds of Bastar*, the suicide figures on a special police investigation conducted at my request.<sup>2</sup> The table does not suggest that in Bastar at least the suicide rate increases with civilisation.

TABLE TWO

*Methods of Suicide used by all Tribes and Castes (245 cases)*

By cutting the throat	..	..	..	..	..	1
By hanging	..	..	..	..	..	214
By drowning	..	..	..	..	..	15
By poisoning	..	..	..	..	..	9
By means not fully reported	..	..	..	..	..	6

<sup>1</sup> I think that the suicide figures for Hill Maria may be too high. Some of the cases recorded by the police as Maria are probably really Muria.

<sup>2</sup> The increase in population for the whole State during the decade was about 20%. But for individual tribes, the 1941 Census figures have been thrown into complete confusion by the custom of members of several different tribes calling themselves 'Muria.' Thus Murias have increased from 124,993 to 219,654; Marias have decreased from 146,070 to 120,110; Bhattras have decreased from 36,611 to 10,869.

Every case, except one of drowning, of aboriginal suicide in Bastar has been by hanging. This may be due to the fact that the people are not adept at poisons—murder by poison is very rare among them—and because there are few wells in aboriginal villages, and the tanks and streams where they get their water are fairly shallow.

In the 80 cases of which I have detailed information, 27 suicides were committed inside a building, 23 of them inside the dwelling-place of the family. In 3 other cases death occurred near the house. In the other 50 cases the suicide took place in the jungle, a rope or cloth being attached to the branch of a tree. Among trees the *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*) is the most popular with 12 cases, and after it the mango with 5 and the tamarind with 4. Otherwise there is a very great variety in the trees selected for this gloomy purpose; there do not seem to be any taboos observed though I notice the sacred *sāja* (*Terminalia tomentosa*) is not used—but this may be for the entirely practical reason that it does not have suitable overhanging branches.

The method of self-execution seems to be to climb up the tree attach and arrange the cord and then jump down. When the suicide occurs inside a house, the person stands on a fish-trap or basket and kicks it away. In a great many cases, the rope consists of the victim's own loin-cloth, turban or sari, but several different kinds of rope are also used. Rope made of the twisted *siari* (*Bauhinia vahlii*) creeper is perhaps the most common. Jute cords for tethering cattle, and ropes made of *danwa*, *barang* (*kydia calycina*), *kumi*, *kudal*, and *pitiil* bark are also used.

It is said that in India generally, drowning is the most common method of achieving suicide, and then hanging. In England, hanging comes first, then poisoning, then cutting the throat, and lastly drowning. In India men resort to hanging and drowning in about equal numbers but six out of seven female suicides prefer drowning.<sup>1</sup> In my specially examined 80 cases of suicide, there

<sup>1</sup> R. RANCHODAS and D. K. THAKORE, *The Law of Crimes* (Bombay, 1911), 601, in the author's comment on Section 309 of the Indian Penal Code. But in the U.S.A., the order is said to be—for men—firearms, hanging, poisonous gas, corrosives, and—for women—gas, corrosives, firearms, drowning. In Japan, hanging first and then drowning are the favourite methods for both sexes.

are 30 women and 50 men, but all 30 women hanged themselves. I have, however, heard of a Muria girl who drowned herself in a tank.

TABLE THREE

*Reasons for Suicide in 245 cases in Bastar State*

Insanity	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Disease	..	..	..	..	..	..	52
Leprosy	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Grief on account of bereavement					..	..	17
Love affairs	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Quarrels over property	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Quarrels between wife and husband	..	..	..	..	..	..	55
Other domestic quarrels	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
Fear of scandal	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Intoxication	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Economic : starvation and financial ruin					..	..	3
Fear of courts and officials	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Bad treatment by employers	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Failing in a school examination	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Not properly reported	..	..	..	..	..	..	17

These are the ten years' figures for the whole State and include, of course, both Hindus and members of the aboriginal tribes. It was impossible to get detailed information about all these cases because the records, which are not kept at police headquarters, but at the local police stations, are eliminated every few years. I was able, however, to obtain the records of 80 aboriginal cases, and I proceed now to a separate analysis of these.

TABLE FOUR

*Analysis of 80 cases by tribes*

Hill Marias	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Bison-horn Marias	..	..	..	..	..	..	53
Murias (northern)	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Murias (others)	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Dhurwas	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Gonds	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

TABLE FIVE

*Analysis of 80 cases by Sex <sup>1</sup>*

Men	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
Women	..	..	..	..	..	..	30

TABLE SIX

*Analysis of 80 cases by Age*

10 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
14/15 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
16/19 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
20/24 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
25/29 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
30/34 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
35/39 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
40/44 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
45/49 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
50/59 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Age not stated	..	..	..	..	..	..	15

TABLE SEVEN

*Analysis of 80 cases by the Time of Year*

January	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
February	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
March	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
April	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
May	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
June	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
July	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
August	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
September	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
October	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
November	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
December	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
4 months cold weather	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
4 months hot weather	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
4 months rains	..	..	..	..	..	..	29

<sup>1</sup> 'Men are much more prone to commit suicide than are women. In England and Wales, the proportions are about 3 to 1....Even in Japan, the male suicide rate is fifty per cent above that for females.'—JASTRZEBSKI, op., cit. 532.

The incidence of suicide appears fairly well distributed throughout the year. If, however, we take the two months of heavy rain, July and August, when life is undoubtedly more arduous and depressing than at other times, we find 19 cases for the two months, which is considerably higher than any other two months during the year.

With this statistical material recorded and arranged, we are now in a position to turn to a discussion of the aboriginals' attitude to suicide and the causes that lead to it.

On the reasons for aboriginal suicide Briffault has some insufferable words. 'Suicide,' he says, 'for all sorts of absurdly frivolous reasons is exceedingly common among all primitive peoples. The chief reason lies probably in the fact that, while the mind of individualistic civilised man is constantly projected into the future and occupied with schemes, primitive man, like the child, is destitute of foresight and lives almost entirely in the present; hence the impulse of the moment, however trifling in itself the object of it may be, determines action uncounteracted by any far-reaching consideration.'<sup>1</sup> Briffault mocks at the idea that primitive people, who usually have little real affection for one another, could possibly kill themselves for love, and he quotes Detzner as saying of the suicides of Melanesia and Papua that every heroic motive is lacking. 'The momentary despair caused by the natural or violent death of wife or husband, the complete lack of energy to take up the battle of life singly, alone induce these resourceless people to take the step, and love for the deceased, which in our sense of the word is unknown to them, lends no higher, hallowing significance to the wretched deed.'<sup>2</sup>

To the unsympathetic missionary without desire to understand or to the hurried traveller with no time to enquire, reports of suicides casually heard and indifferently explored must often seem trivial enough. But does it never occur to these reporters that the triviality of motive so often advanced is really a screen to protect the real significance of the deed from official or merely inquisitive eyes? The anthropologist has to be both magistrate and detective in his enquiries. In my own enquiries I now

<sup>1</sup> R. BRIFFAULT, *The Mothers* (London, 1927), ii, 143 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. DETZNER, *Vier Jahre unter Kannibalen* (Berlin, 1920), 198.

take it almost as a matter of routine that I will be given a false and trivial reason for everything, and most of all in matters which approach the realm of criminal offence. That primitive man does not take suicide lightly is shown by the extraordinary precautions he takes against the ghost of a suicide, while the very fact—which Briffault mentions—that suicide can be made a deadly weapon against an enemy indicates what a serious business it is.<sup>1</sup>

For the Maria and Muria of Bastar, suicide is a wretched deed; it certainly has no higher, hallowing significance; it is no light or trivial matter due to lack of foresight—rather it is caused by an all too clear vision of the future: the leper looks across a wilderness of ever-deepening misery; the widow sees her whole life shadowed by irreparable loss; wife or husband see their home's happiness wrecked about them; a man sees his future darkened by the memory of an unforgiveable insult. The people themselves have no desire to glorify the deed, neither do they condemn it. In perhaps the majority of cases psychoneurotic or psychotic symptoms have been recognised by the people themselves, and they regard the unhappy victims as driven to death by their own disordered minds.

Suicides receive no honour in Bastar. They are buried or cremated apart from the usual place of disposal and memorial stones or pillars are not generally erected for them. The usual precautions are taken to prevent the return of the ghost, which is regarded as a dangerous one. Often, of course, the body is taken away for a post-mortem and buried at a magistrate's headquarters. When this happens, the clothes and ornaments of the deceased are brought home—but not inside the house—laid on a bier and carried out for disposal with the ritual of an ordinary funeral.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the reasons leading to suicide in the 80 special aboriginal cases that I have examined. I put first

*Some Form of Insanity.* Factors of a pronounced psychopathological nature appear to have been operative in at least 15 cases, and probably in several others. For example, a Dhurwa,

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the cases mentioned by FRAZER, in his *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (London, 1936), iii, 142-161.



Samaru 30, clearly suffered from persecution delusions: he refused to eat food cooked by his wife, declaring that it was contaminated; when she was out of the house he would creep into the kitchen and take what he wanted from the pots. He refused to talk to anyone, and ran away whenever he saw his wife.<sup>1</sup> The old Maria, Baiha Ganga, 50, was taken the same way. For some days before his death, he refused to eat and when anyone approached him attacked them with his stick.<sup>2</sup>

Bongi Maria and Dohla Muria were subject to periodic attacks of insanity; Bongi tried to kill himself three times before he finally succeeded. Others displayed a marked narcissistic attitude, wandering aimlessly in the jungle, refusing to talk or work; such were Saradu, a northern Muria, 35, who used to wander naked<sup>3</sup>, Nari Maria, 20,<sup>4</sup> Pakli, a little Maria girl about 10 years old,<sup>5</sup> and Marvi Mundi, a Maria woman who had suffered since childhood from attacks during which she refused to eat and wandered about aimlessly, neglecting the dozen children she had borne.<sup>6</sup>

Bako, the fifteen-year-old daughter of Mangalsai, a Muria of Kukrajhor village was a *motiāri* or girl member of the village dormitory. She had been behaving 'queerly,' said her parents, for some days. One night when there was a dance in the dormitory, she ran home and asked her mother for a new cloth she had recently been given; but instead of returning to the dance adorned with it she climbed a *mahua* tree and hanged herself in her new finery.<sup>7</sup>

Jhandru, a Dhurwa youth, 22, 'went mad' and the fact was actually reported to the police. On the day of his death, he began screaming that he had an unbearable pain in his liver, and ran from his house towards the jungle. His father followed him, but was caught in the tall grass that had not been yet burnt after the rains. The youth escaped, and was found four days later hanging from a *sāl* tree.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Died at Darbha on 22-2-39.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Kukanar on 22-6-32.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Esalnar on 9-8-33.

<sup>4</sup> Died at Mandar on 12-12-35.

<sup>5</sup> Died at Takhapal on 19-7-32.

<sup>6</sup> Died at Oriyapal on 9-11-32.

<sup>7</sup> Died at Kukrajhor on 22-12-37.

<sup>8</sup> Died at Chandragiri on 9-4-35.

There is finally the strange and sombre case of Markami Hirme, 35, mother of four children and about to bear a fifth. In her pre-pubertal period she had been subject to epileptic fits, but was treated by the local Siraha-magician, and was believed cured. On October 22nd 1935, at her home at Gonderas, the epilepsy recurred, and she became 'strange in her behaviour.' She was in the eighth month of pregnancy. Two days later, when her husband was out watching the crops, and her eldest daughter had gone for water, she hanged herself from a rafter of the house in the presence of her three little children.

Now such a death is the most dangerous in the world. The woman who dies in pregnancy or childbirth is known throughout India as the Churelin or Churin; in Bastar she is often called the Ondar Muttai, the Old Bee Woman, who attacks men with the fury of a swarm of bees. Hirme's husband and the village elders seem to have been unable to decide what to do. Not one of them dared to touch the corpse, and it remained hanging for two days in the house. Then, so the villagers declare, the foetus of the unborn child automatically discharged itself from the womb. By this time the necessary ceremonies of protection had been performed, and the body was cut down. By the time it reached Sukma for the post-mortem, the body was naturally too decomposed for any confident medical opinion.

*Suicide due to Despair Caused by Unbearable Pain or Incurable Disease.* In another 14 cases, suicide was clearly caused by the sheer misery of physical suffering and disappointment at the failure of the mediums and magicians to relieve it. Unfortunately, but inevitably, it is impossible to be sure what were the diseases that caused the trouble. But it is clear that there were two cases of leprosy, one of yaws, one of gonorrhoea—a very rare affliction in a Bastar aboriginal, two of blindness and three of menstrual disturbances.

Khuta, 50, a Muria of the charming village of Duga Bangal, had been a leper for five years; his face and lips were disfigured with ulcers, his arms and feet were shapeless stumps. On April 24th 1934, while all round him his fellows were going out into the forest on the great ceremonial hunts of that time of the year, and boys and girls were going with drum and song for marriage

or festival, he crawled on his bleeding and painful stumps a long mile out of the village, found a banyan tree, and somehow hanged himself from its branches.

The victim of yaws was an old woman of about 55 years. She was covered with ulcers and unable to eat for the pain and misery. One night, when all were asleep, she hanged herself from a rafter of her house.<sup>1</sup> The gonorrhoeal case was also an elderly person, a Dhurwa aged about 45—which is old for an aboriginal. He was a chronic sufferer and the pain and frustration caused him great depression.<sup>2</sup> Such cases are very unusual among the Bastar aboriginals, whose women are carefully guarded from the civilised world, and it is possible that the sufferer believed himself the victim of witchcraft.

Several of the other cases were due to 'severe pain in the stomach' but it is now impossible to say what this was. Atami Kosa, a Maria of Poyali, had a septic ulcer on his left calf.<sup>3</sup> Sorî Hirma of Korra, 60, got very drunk at one of the harvest festivals of the Bison-horn Maria and dislocated his hip. For eighteen months he lay in his house, pulling himself up by a rope tied to the roof. But at last he could bear it no longer and managed to hang himself with the very rope that had been so long his friend.<sup>4</sup>

Three women, one a Hill Maria and two Bison-horn Maria committed suicide on account of menstrual troubles. Any kind of irregularity of the catamenial period, which in any case is regarded as a time of contagious danger and taboo, is sufficient to cause a strong psychotic disturbance. Karti Sukri,<sup>5</sup> a young girl of only 15 years, apparently suffered from menorrhagia; she bore it for six months and then hanged herself with her own cloth from a mahua tree near her home. Markami Kosi had been married for twenty years, but she too suffered acutely during menstruation—'the pain was so great she behaved as if she were mad'—and she too committed suicide. As is often the case when a woman suffers from menstrual troubles, the husband had married a second wife and I have little doubt that the jealousy and

<sup>1</sup> She was Markami Hungi and died at Gongpal on 1-5-37.

<sup>2</sup> Hirma Dhurwa died at Kurenga on 20-2-37.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Potali on 31-1-35.

<sup>4</sup> Died at Korra on 26-2-32.

<sup>5</sup> Died at Pondum, 19-10-36.

annoyance inevitable in a polygynous household played its part in hastening Markami Kosi's death. The younger wife, however, did her best to save the other woman; she cut her down while still breathing and tried to revive her.<sup>1</sup>

The third woman was a Hill Maria. She had been married five years, and had two children, both of whom died. She sounds as though she had a prolapse of the uterus shortly before her death. I have little doubt that witchcraft was suspected; the magicians were called in; but the trouble and expense had no effect; the girl got worse and worse, and at last vanished into the jungle whence her body was not recovered for three days.<sup>2</sup>

In all these cases, as well as in those where the victim was recorded as insane, matters were made worse by the failure of the tribal magicians to achieve a cure. Every Bastar village has one or more of these Sirahas or Gunias, men of sensitive temperament and sometimes hypnotic powers, in whom the people trust both for the diagnosis and the cure of their troubles. Insanity and disease are generally declared to be due to the activity of hostile spirits or ghosts or to the enmity of witch and warlock. This naturally adds fear and depression to the physical suffering of the patient. When the cure proves ineffective, there is an atmosphere of deep gloom and apprehension; the supernatural powers arrayed against the sufferer take on a new majesty and horror.

*Quarrels about Work.* The Murias of the north regard work with an almost religious devotion. Parents forgive their children all their faults and errors—sexual scandals, breaches of tribal taboo, religious indifference—so long as they work hard. In the village dormitory boys and girls are taught that work must be shared equally by all, whether it be the corporate work of the community or private work at home. The most serious quarrels, both in youth and later, are about the distribution of work. The Marias have not perhaps elevated the gospel of work to quite so high a place in their life, but they too cannot tolerate the lazy person who does not take his share of the common life and burden.

Another 14 cases of suicide, of which seven are of northern Murias, are due to this cause, and to the shame roused by a public

<sup>1</sup> Died at Rasawahi, 11-7-37.

<sup>2</sup> Kurangi died at Kumhari, 27-6-39.

rebuke for idleness. Karu, 18, a Muria of Todopal,<sup>1</sup> hanged himself when his father abused him for sitting idly all day in the house and doing nothing to earn his food. Such rebukes—which doubtless included such expressions as *jutaha*, or 'eater of leavings' and others implying that the boy was always peeping in at the door when food was served—are regarded as very offensive. Sukta, 15, a young *chelik* (boy member of the village dormitory) failed to stop some cattle which broke through the fence of the garden and damaged the green chillies. He was beaten and abused by his father, and hanged himself from a tamarind tree.<sup>2</sup> Another *chelik*, Dhonya, 15, of Jodenga could not get on with his father and ran away to his uncle's house. After a month his father came and cursed him for his laziness, saying that he never did anything but wander about. The boy was so angry at this that he refused to eat, and in the evening took his bow and arrows and disappeared from the house. His father followed him, and presently discovered his body hanging from the roof of the village rest-house.<sup>3</sup>

In these three cases the conflict was between father and son—but it should be noted that there are only three such cases. The conditions of Muria life generally make for happy relations between parents and children. In two other cases the conflict was between Lamhada and father-in-law. A Lamhada is a youth whose parents cannot afford the bride-price and in its place send him to serve in his father-in-law's house for a period of years. Ghasia, 20, went to dance with the other boys and girls of the village when he should have been working at home.<sup>4</sup> Akali Modi was a Bison-horn Maria who had served three years for his wife, to whom he was married four months before his death. As is often the case he was continuing to serve his father-in-law until the payment of the bride-price was completed. On the night before his suicide, two cows broke their tethering cords and damaged the crops in the father-in-law's fields. On such occasions it is almost routine to blame the Lamhada, and the father-in-law doubtless bewailed his mistake in giving his daughter to such a fool and made offensive remarks about the boy's mother. Modi,

<sup>1</sup> Died at Todopal on 30-5-31.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Baghbeda on 18-10-31.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Jogenda on 4-4-40.

<sup>4</sup> Died at Netanar on 21-6-32.

who is said to have been a sensitive, quick-tempered youth, waited till the rest of the family went into the fields and then hanged himself from a tree outside the village.<sup>1</sup>

Other cases may be briefly tabulated—Bhadu was abused by his brother for not attending to the fields while the latter was away arranging for his wife's treatment from a magician.<sup>2</sup>

Kahru, a Muria, was a drunkard, and beat his wife after a violent quarrel. Thinking he had killed her, he hanged himself in remorse.<sup>3</sup>

Sukaro, a middle-aged Muria woman with a notoriously quick temper, was scolded by her husband for not looking after the ripening crops—it was September, and she went and hanged herself in the very fields she had failed to guard.<sup>4</sup>

Padami Dhudi, 42, a Bison-horn Maria, had a nagging mother and a bad head-ache. The millet crop was damaged by wild boars and the old woman made a scene.<sup>5</sup>

Bire, an old Bison-horn Maria woman, was scolded by her son for not looking after her sick husband properly: she gave him no water to wash with and not even wood for his fire.<sup>6</sup>

Markami Pandu and his wife quarrelled violently over the threshing of the *mandia* crop. Pandu got very drunk and hanged himself.<sup>7</sup>

An unusually tragic incident occurred at Metapal in February 1937. Kuhrami Hurra returned one day from the bazaar and found that one of his calves had been killed by a panther. Rightly or wrongly he considered that this was the fault of his wife and daughter, who had not tied the calf up properly in the evening. Hurra's wife was well known for her quick temper; she was continually quarrelling, especially if her husband ventured to interfere with household matters, and it is said that the daughter had learnt to take her mother's side. After the quarrel about the calf, the older woman set fire to their house and took her daughter away to the field-house out in their clearing. Here she first hanged her daughter and then herself.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Died at Kosalnar on 14-8-38.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Burbal on 27-3-34.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Dhoundai on 14-7-40.

<sup>4</sup> Died at Killam on 27-9-39.

<sup>5</sup> Died at Naktoka on 2-12-33.

<sup>6</sup> Died at Kondre (Sukma) on 21-9-36.

<sup>7</sup> Died at Parcheli (Dantewara) on 16-2-38.

<sup>8</sup> Died at Metapal on 6-2-37.

In November 1939 there was a case at Killepal where a mother was rebuked by her son and daughter-in-law for not helping them with the reaping of the *kosra* crop. She had been a widow for ten years and seems to have got a certain amount of pleasure and relaxation from paying visits to her married daughter at Dilmilli. This was resented by the son and brother with whom she lived. Behind her death there must have been a long history of family conflict.<sup>1</sup>

*An Unhappy Home.* Quarrels about work may occur between father and son, mother and son, husband and wife, brother and brother. Such quarrels may, of course, indicate a thoroughly unhappy home and be symptoms of deeprooted conflicts. On the other hand, the suicides to which such quarrels lead appear sometimes to be the result of a sudden burst of anger, or the mortification that a public and insulting rebuke generally causes.

In 12 other cases, however, the suicides seem to be the tragic fruit of domestic maladjustment; in all these 12 cases the disputes or quarrels that were stated to be the immediate cause of tragedy were conflicts between husband and wife.

Thus Kome is said to have been quick-tempered, a person who always exaggerated things. She was a young wife, only 20 years old, and when her husband came in one day tired and wet from the fields, and found no food ready, and abused her, she took a rope and slipped out of the house. Her husband, also young, found some stale food and took it back to the field. When he came home in the evening his wife was dead.<sup>2</sup>

Mate, another Bison-horn Maria girl, had a row with her husband over lighting the fire. Her husband was drunk and beat her, and she attacked him. But her husband's elder brother, to whom she was strictly taboo and who had no business to touch her, beat her also. During the night, she left the house and tried to get across the Indravati River in order to reach her mother's house. But there was no ferry and she hanged herself with her own clothes. It is worthy of note that although there was a deep river at hand, the girl preferred to end her life by hanging.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kawasi Dewe died at Chhote Killepal on 4-11-39.

<sup>2</sup> Kone died at Kodher on 13-8-32.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Kosalnar on 17-8-35.

Another Bison-horn Maria wife, Mundri, 35, of Kaklur, came into conflict with her husband on one of the most common matters of dispute in aboriginal households—the right of a wife to visit her parents' house. This is an economic, not a matrimonial, dispute. The parents like to have a daughter back in the house, because she does a lot of work for them; the husband objects to her going away because there will be no one to cook and there will be one fewer to labour in the fields. Mundri was always quarelling with her husband over this, and one day he abused her so violently that in a fit of temper she killed herself.<sup>1</sup> Yet another wife from the same area, Galle, was obviously a bad housewife; she used to tell her husband that she would throw their child on the ground if he told her to do any work. On the day of her death she had been asked to prepare leaf-cups and food for the whole family—a large one. This seems to have been the immediate cause of disturbance, and she hanged herself. But there was undoubtedly a long and miserable tale of domestic unhappiness behind it.<sup>2</sup>

In three interesting cases it was the husband who committed suicide from remorse and sorrow. Barse Chewa, 40, a Bison-horn Maria, asked his wife, a sick and miserable woman, to light the fire early in the morning. She was rather slow about it and Chewa beat her and kicked her, knocking her unconscious. He was so ashamed and frightened that he killed himself.<sup>3</sup> Sori Dewa, angry at the loss of two of his cows, miserable because he had beaten his wife, did the same.<sup>4</sup> So did Marvi Dhodsa who beat his wife, who was suffering from sore eyes, for not keeping the baby quiet. That night, Dhodsa felt very miserable; he realised that his wife was ill, that he had no right to beat her, and that the child too had sore eyes and was bound to cry. He crept out of the house and hanged himself on a mahua tree with his own cloth.<sup>5</sup>

*Suicide due to the Complications of a Polygynous Household.* I have three cases—but only three—of suicide due to that form of erotic and economic enterprise known as polygyny. In central India plural marriage has its economic significance, but is generally due either to the barrenness of the first wife or the erotic appeal

<sup>1</sup> Died at Kaklur on 26-11-32.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Goriapal on 18-3-32.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Gamewada (Dantewara) on 23-7-34.

<sup>4</sup> Died at Kokalwada on 9-6-39.

<sup>5</sup> Died at Goriapal on 17-5-39.



of the second. Poyami Gupe of Bastanar, a girl of about 18 years, was widowed at 16 and remarried two years later as the junior wife of Gudi. One day, about seven months after the new marriage, Gupe went to collect young bamboo shoots—a great delicacy to the aboriginal—and came home rather late in the evening. For this she was scolded by her co-wife and no doubt accused of every crime that jealousy could suggest. She left the house and went to stay with her maternal uncle. Gudi went to bring her back, but rather than do so she hanged herself.<sup>1</sup>

Another young wife, a Gond girl called Kani, was the junior and presumably the privileged wife of a polygynous household. One day she burnt her cloth and was beaten by the husband she was used to dominate. She ran away to her mother's house, but after a fortnight her husband brought her back. There seems to have been a further quarrel with her co-wife and Kani hanged herself in the house while the rest of the family were working in the fields.<sup>2</sup> In the third case it was the husband who found life unbearable, discovering the truth of the saying 'A man is the Raja of one wife, but the dog of two.'<sup>3</sup>

*Erotic Motives for Suicide.* Not many Maria or Muria die for love, but this does not mean any absence of the erotic passion among them. The Muria *ghotul* or dormitory is a school of love—but the love that is taught is not a jealous or possessive love, but a deep affection that always looks beyond the individual to the community. Both Muria and Maria are famous for the happiness and fidelity of their domestic lives. It is true that few of their marriages are what we would call 'romantic'; out of 2,000 marriages of Muria men and women that I examined in 1942, no fewer than 1884 were arranged by their parents and of these 1799 were marriages of the cross-cousin type. Only 49 of these 'arranged' marriages ended in divorce. Under such conditions, we would not expect to find many suicides arising out of disappointed love. The figure of the rejected or frustrated lover is almost unknown in a Bastar village. Such 'love-suicides' as there are nearly all occur within the marriage bond.

Such was the sad case of Marvi Gutami, a Bison-horn Maria of Katakanda, a young man of 22 years who married a girl to whom he was much attached. Indeed it is said that he loved her so much that he was quite unable to control her, and she got

<sup>1</sup> Died at Bastanar on 29-7-39.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Sakargaon on 11-7-32.

<sup>3</sup> Kawasi Dulga died at Dilmilli on 22-1-37.

on the nerves of the older women of the house who lost no opportunity of venting their spite upon her. As a result she often ran away to her mother's house, and Gutomi would have to go and bring her back. One day when this happened, the youth found she had gone elsewhere. Despairing of happiness, he returned home and hanged himself behind his house.<sup>1</sup>

A rather similar case was that of Kawasi Hurra another young Bison-horn Maria whose wife kept leaving him for her mother's house and, since he loved her greatly, drove him to despair.<sup>2</sup>

There are, of course, a few rare cases of suicide due to frustrated love. It is reported that the Badaga girls of the Nilgiri Hills sometimes poison themselves when betrothed against their will, and that 'very little provocation is needed to induce a Badaga woman to destroy herself.'<sup>3</sup> In old Tamil love-poems there are allusions to an ancient practice of a disappointed lover proclaiming his love in public before committing suicide.<sup>4</sup> So Gagra, a Muria of Deoda, fell in love with a Hindu girl who bore the ill-omened name of Randi Kalarin, and killed himself because she refused to marry him.<sup>5</sup> Two young lovers of Amgaon, who had grown up together in the same dormitory, died in each others arms rather than face the pain of separation.<sup>6</sup>

A few cases of suicide are due to attempts to force a girl to live with a man she does not like. Budri did not love her husband and whenever she was taken to his house ran away from it. After this had happened several times, she hanged herself.<sup>7</sup> Kunjami Burji, a Bison-horn Maria widow, was desired by Konda Maria who sent seven men, according to custom, to bring her to his house. In spite of her remonstrances, she was taken forcibly, but managed to escape with her three little children and hanged herself in the house while they were asleep.

The great majority of cross-cousin marriages are successful, but not always. A young Bison-horn Maria girl, Poyami Pande, was given to her mother's brother's son in marriage. After the usual

<sup>1</sup> Died at Katakanda on 24-8-38.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Sirisguda (Jagdalpur) on 4-6-40.

<sup>3</sup> J. F. METZ, *The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills* (Mangalore, 1864), 75.

<sup>4</sup> KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (Madras 1904), 123.

<sup>5</sup> Died in Jagdalpur Hospital on 18-9-32.

<sup>6</sup> Died at Amgaon.

<sup>7</sup> Died at Bodenar on 8-1-33.

feast, the couple were shut up together in a room as usual so that they should have sexual congress together for the first time. But Pande objected, fought her way out of the room, and ran home where she was thoroughly scolded for such improper conduct. That night she hanged herself.<sup>1</sup>

*Suicide due to Loneliness and Bereavement.* Death to the aboriginal is always—except in the case of the very old—something abnormal, an intrusion into the proper course of things, the result of supernatural enmity, and all the more tragic for that cause. 7 out of the 80 cases were undoubtedly due to grief and bereavement. A Parjin, Kacheri, mourned her husband for six months and then hanged herself.<sup>2</sup> An old widow, Jabbo, lost her son and daughter, and was left entirely alone. After a year of misery, she hanged herself by her son's grave.<sup>3</sup> Another Bison-horn Maria woman, but this time a young girl of 22, already miserable on account of the death of her first two children, was lying with her fifteen-day old baby by the fire when he fell into it and burnt himself. Coming on top of the other tragedies, this was too much for the young mother; she went straight out of the house and hanged herself with her own clothes.<sup>4</sup>

Samaru, a northern Muria, 60, lost two of his sons, and this preyed greatly on his mind.<sup>5</sup> Poyami Lakshma, a Bison-horn Maria, lost both his wives and a daughter.<sup>6</sup> Kalmumi Boti lost a specially loved little son.<sup>7</sup> Thadgu, a Muria, 50, could not bear to watch the sufferings of his eldest son who appears to have been dying of tuberculosis, and whom he took to all the neighbouring magicians for treatment, but in vain.<sup>8</sup>

In this group of suicides, two incidents are worthy of remark. The day before his death, Samaru paid up his land revenue amounting to twenty-one rupees, and had to go some way to do it. Poyami Lakhma made a false report of theft to the police the day before his death so as to ensure that there would be a constable in the village when his body was discovered. There may be many other unrecorded acts of similar consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Died at Kawadgaon (Dantewara) on 17-6-36.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Mangalpur on 13-5-39.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Panera (Dantewara) on 18-10-38.

<sup>4</sup> Died at Karka on 6-4-39. Her name was Tiro, wife of Atami Gunda.

<sup>5</sup> Died at Nakanar (Kondagaon) on 20-7-36.

<sup>6</sup> Died at Chhote Gumiapal on 24-12-34.

<sup>7</sup> Died at Pondum (Dantewara) on 25-5-33.

<sup>8</sup> Died at Gadhia (Jagdalpur) on 30-4-40.

*Suicide from Economic Causes.* Such cases are extremely rare. This remarkable fact has been noticed also for the Bantu in South Africa. 'Conditions of starvation, prolonged droughts and disease among live stock,' says Laubscher, 'are common, and still no cases of suicides are known to magistrates of as much as 30 years' experience which can be considered as the result of despair in the face of economic difficulties.' Only one Bison-horn Maria, Veko Lakhma, killed himself as the result of the burden of a debt. Yet his debt was not especially heavy. He had engaged himself to work for a Thakur as a Kabari as against a loan of 17 khandis of paddy. He worked for a year, and then wearied of it. The Thakur beat him for his slackness, and Lakhma hanged himself in Thakur's fields—probably as much from a desire for revenge as from despair.<sup>1</sup>

*Suicide due to fear of the Outside World.* The aboriginal is not alone in finding litigation and contact with officialdom trying to the nerves. Hunga, a Bison-horn Maria of Kothiagura, was involved in a cattle-theft case and believed himself badly treated by the constable investigating it. He prepared a petition to the Superintendent of Police and wrapping it carefully in a *pharsa* leaf set out to Jagdalpur to present it. But on the way, his fears, his grievance, his sense of lost prestige overwhelmed him, and he hanged himself from a *pharsa* tree by the roadside.<sup>2</sup>

The case of Saradu, a Muria landlord, 22, of Bermakot, belongs to the bad old days before the taking of free supplies and labour had been prohibited. An Excise Sub-Inspector came to the village to enquire into a case of illicit distillation. He does not seem to have received all the supplies he wanted, and so he threatened the landlord, who came of a leading Muria family, with prosecution on some false charge. Saradu hanged himself rather than face the indignity and disgrace.<sup>3</sup>

Marvi Mundra, a Bison-horn Maria of Cholnar, had some of his cattle stolen and reported the matter to the police. The case proceeded normally, and Mundra was summoned as complainant to the court. The accused called two defence witnesses, a matter which seems to have shocked Mundra profoundly, who being simple and honest himself and knowing his case to be true, seems to have expected it to be settled in his favour immediately. In the evening, under the great trees of the travellers' camp at

<sup>1</sup> Died at Haram (Dantewara) on 24-11-31.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Karanji on 17-8-37.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Bermakot on 8-10-33.

Dantewara, he expressed his concern to his companions and when all were asleep went away and hanged himself.<sup>1</sup>

Such incidents show the very great care that is still needed in dealing administratively or legally with the wilder aboriginals.

*Some Special Cases.* A few special cases do not fit into any of the above classifications. In the Kerawahi *ghotul* (dormitory) there occurred a case of clan incest. This particular breach of tribal taboo is not taken very seriously by the Murias so long as the scandal does not come into the open, in other words so long as the girl in the case does not become pregnant. But Lati, a young *chelik* of only 16 years, was unfortunate enough not only to fall in love with his own brother's daughter, who was a member of the same *ghotul*, but also to make her pregnant. The matter became public and the girl's father called a meeting of the village council. He arranged that his daughter, who was betrothed to another boy, should be married immediately. When Lati heard what was to happen, dreading both the scandal and the expense it would cause his family, he went into the jungle and hanged himself from a *mahua* tree with his own turban.<sup>2</sup>

The story of Alami Mata throws some light on the attachment of the Bison-horn Marias to their cherished institutions. This youth, about 20 years of age, was devoted to dancing and used to preserve his magnificent hereditary bison-horn head-dress with the greatest care. In the neighbouring village of Ghotpal lived a beautiful girl, unmarried and in love with him, whom he used to meet during their dances. One day he found his splendid horns and feathers stolen. He would not go to dance without his finery; he could not meet his girl; on top of it all his father abused him for not working hard enough. Life without music, rhythm and love was not worth living, and he ended it.<sup>3</sup>

Another young Bison-horn Maria boy, Poyami Kosa, 15, hanged himself after a dispute about clothes. He went with a group of others to cut grass; they all put their clothes together, but when the time came for recovering them, Kosa's cloth was claimed by another boy. In spite of everything Kosa could say the other boy went off with it. This may seem a trivial enough matter, but to people as poor as the Marias the loss of a *saluka* cloth is serious and during the dispute Kosa was greatly insulted. It was

<sup>1</sup> Died at Dantewara on 29-12-35.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Kerawahi on 5-4-36.

<sup>3</sup> Died at Pahunar on 16-11-31.

the dispute and the insult, rather than the mere loss, that caused his death.<sup>1</sup>

Childlessness appears to cause less distress and conflict than one would imagine. Out of the 2000 Muria marriages examined, 150 were infertile, yet in no case was the infertility made the cause of a divorce. I have found only one suicide that could be partly traced to this. Badri, a Muria woman, was married as a pre-pubertal girl to Budhu. Her death occurred five years after the menarche. Budhu was older than her and she used to abuse him constantly for not giving her a child. On the day of her death, Budhu and his sister went to the Narayanpur bazaar. Badri wanted to go too, for she had set her heart on some new bangles. But Budhu told her to stay at home to look after the house, and promised her the bangles the following week. Left alone in the house—to be left behind on a bazaar day is a peculiarly melancholy experience—Badri brooded over her childlessness and her unsatisfactory husband and finally hanged herself from the central beam of the house, and when the others returned from the bazaar they found her there.<sup>2</sup>

My final case is the remarkable instance of Barse Konda, 35, a Bison-horn Maria of Hitawar. He had one daughter named Jabbo. This girl was that very rare thing, a Maria girl of promiscuous habits. She was first married to a man of Samgiri. Then she went to a man at Gongpal. From him she went to a man at Molasnar. From him she went to a man at Palnar. Some time in 1937 she left her Palnar husband and went to live with Kawasi Kosa of Rewali. At the Korta Pandum, the festival of the eating of new rice and new cucumbers and gourds, Jaboo went to her home at Nakulnar for the festival, and after three days her father Konda took her back to Rewali. Rewali is a notoriously ill-tempered village, and when Konda arrived he was badly received and abused by several of the people for his daughter's behaviour. He went home, angry and depressed, told his wife what had happened, and got very drunk. At supper he caught his wife by the hair and beat her. She ran away to a neighbour's house. Then Konda got his own drum and danced with it all night long. As the first cocks crew, he went into his house and hanged himself from the central beam of the roof.

The information I have been able to give about these suicides is, of course, unsatisfactory. It is exceedingly difficult to get

<sup>1</sup> Died at Sargipal Ran on 16-12-39.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Borank on 8-6-32.

details and reach the real truth in many cases. Much of the triviality that is usually ascribed to the aboriginal suicide is simply the reticence of witnesses who do not want to complicate matters unduly.

It is interesting to note that witchcraft is never mentioned as a cause, though the people do not generally mind reporting witches to the police. Another remarkable thing is the very small number of cases where suicide has been due to, or even prompted by, drunkenness.

There is no evidence for supposing any of the suicides were due to a desire for 'identification with the dead,' although in one case a youth slept all night before his death in the granary where the sacred Pot of the Dead was kept. Nor is the desire for revenge specially evident, though it may, of course, have been concealed. No doubt the feeling that one's death will cause trouble to one's relatives and so pay them out is often present in suicides that are due to temper. Not one case appears to have been due to sexual jealousy. The majority seem to have been due to a desire to escape from a physical or domestic situation that had become intolerable. The insult, as in other primitive cultures, is a very potent stimulus to suicide. This too creates an intolerable situation from which escape is necessary, but I do not notice any stress on the protest which a death makes against those who have done harm.

Suicide among the Trobriand Islanders, says Malinowski, 'is certainly not a means of administering justice, but it affords the accused and oppressed one—whether he be guilty or innocent—a means of escape and rehabilitation. It looms large in the psychology of the natives, is a permanent damper on any violence of language or behaviour, on any deviation from custom or tradition, which might hurt or offend another. Thus suicide, like sorcery, is a means of keeping the native to the strict observance of the law, a means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behaviour. Both are pronounced conservative influences and as such are strong supports of law and order.'

This is a little too emphatic for the situation in Bastar, but duly modified might apply there also. But whatever primitive suicide may be, it is not trivial. Nor is it altogether dishonourable. The man insulted escapes, it is true, but he also restores his honour. The girl forced into an unwelcome marriage runs away from it, but she also preserves her dignity and prestige. A study of Maria and Muria in face of death throws a strong light on the mind and character of these fine people.

# SEASONAL SONGS OF PATNA DISTRICT

By W. G. ARCHER

THE FOLLOWING six poems are called *chaumasa*, a cycle of songs which are sung in the Rains and cover the six months of the rainy season. They are sung by ladies in the households of Bhumihar Brahmans, Kayasths and Rajputs, and form part of the upper-caste oral poetry which still flourishes in Bihar villages.

The theme of the cycle is sexual frustration, a theme which almost all folk poetry in India connects with the Rains. The reasons for this association are two-fold. In the first place, there is the general gloom of the season which turns loneliness into an active fear and which intensifies the need of a wife for her husband. And there is, secondly, the imagery of the season which through its symbolism evokes sexual longing.

‘ The insects murmur in the bushes  
And I tremble at the sound ’

‘ The garden is blossoming, O my heartless darling  
And in it the bee hovers.’

In these lines, the insects and the bee are the husband while the hovering on the blossom is the equivalent of sexual union.

‘ My own husband is a cloud in another land ’

In early Chinese poetry, clouds were often images for multitudes

‘ Outside the Eastern Gate  
Are girls many as the clouds ;  
But though they are many as clouds  
There is none on whom my heart dwells.  
White jacket and grey scarf  
Alone could cure my woe.’<sup>1</sup>

‘ In the wicker fish-trap by the bridge  
Are fish, both bream and roach.  
A lady of Ch’i goes to be married ;  
Her escort is like a trail of clouds.’<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ARTHUR WALEY, *The Book of Songs*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



But in Indian poetry, clouds impress by their drifting instability.

'You are like a cloud  
That wanders in the sky.  
If you really loved me  
You would sleep close beside my heart.'<sup>1</sup>

It is the waywardness of clouds rather than their number or ordered progression which haunts a woman in the Rains, and fills her with tormenting thoughts of her husband.

Finally, there is rain itself. This does not appear in the present *chaumasa* but its symbolism is latent in all poetry that springs from the rainy season.

'O Western wind when wilt thou blow  
That the small rain down can rain ?  
Christ that my love were in my arms  
And I in my bed again.'<sup>2</sup>

'In the Urai jungle, the rain comes down in torrents  
If you would enjoy yourself, it must be before you're  
married.'<sup>3</sup>

'The rain is pouring down  
The lotus blooms on the water  
There is a dark mango tree  
The bees fly in and out  
A girl stands beneath the tree  
The rain is pouring down'<sup>4</sup>

It is because the falling rain is a poignant image of the male act that the Rains are necessarily a period of sexual strain ; and it is against this background that the following poems should be read.

#### ASAR

June is the month of parting, friend  
The sky glowers with gloom  
Leaping and reeling the god rains

<sup>1</sup> SHAMRAO HIVALE and VERRIER ELWIN, *Songs of the Forest : the Folk Poetry of the Gonds*, p. 124. A Gond dadaria.

<sup>2</sup> English ballad.

<sup>3</sup> A Pardhan dadaria. Translated by SHAMRAO HIVALE and VERRIER ELWIN.

<sup>4</sup> Pardhan love song from the Maikal Hills. Translated by SHAMRAO HIVALE and VERRIER ELWIN.

And my sweet budding breasts are wet.  
 All my friends sleep with their husbands  
 But my own husband is a cloud in another land  
 The whole night I sob  
 And cannot get still  
 The fish shine in the river  
 The sword shines in the hand  
 The husband dazzles on the bed  
 And at the thought I could fold myself round him  
 In the black clouds the lightning shimmers  
 How heavily it weighs  
 This parting from my husband  
 I care for nothing in his absence  
 I fold my hands and I pray  
 O God who made the world,  
 Listen to my prayer

## SAWAN

July and the eager river leaps  
 The water streams  
 The paths vanish  
 Swamped are the fields and threshing floors  
 The insects murmur in the bushes  
 And I tremble at the sound  
 Happy is that woman's lot  
 Whose husband is at home  
 Wretched is my fate  
 Whose husband has gone away  
 Absence with its flame  
 Tortures me each day  
 And my lotus heart is on fire  
 My husband tricked me  
 And ran to another land  
 He cares for me no more  
 And his heart is hard  
 How my breasts tingle  
 And burst at their slips !

## BHADO

August and with my husband  
I am fast asleep on the bed  
Of a sudden on my wrist he pounces  
And tastes the savour of my lips  
His syrup drips on the bed  
Staining my petticoat  
Torn are my silk slips  
Broken my pearl necklace  
Sprained my frail wrists  
But I feel no pain  
My *jhulani* I lose and my jewelled nose-pin  
And as he struggles with me  
I sweat the whole night  
All the fondling of my father's house  
He has turned to dust  
All my sixteen points  
My husband has spoilt.

## ASIN

September raised my hopes  
I worshipped the sun night and day  
But my husband never came from the strange land  
I get on edge  
I collect buds and adorn my bed  
And make myself smart in all the sixteen ways  
But my smartness is of no account  
My hopes are shattered  
Hard is the heart of my darling, O friend  
He sends me not a word  
With my husband far from me  
I moan on my bed  
When the *papiha* cries  
Absence burns me  
When I fancy I hear my husband  
My breast is split and I feel on fire  
Oh the torment of a husband in another land  
And the torment when I hear the shout of the bird

## KARTIK

October wakes the passions  
 And lack of love burns me the whole night  
 I get no rest  
 I sob hour after hour  
 Morning comes weeping weeping  
 A mere seven years is my husband  
 And my own age is twenty four  
 My husband is a little silly  
 Who does not know what to do  
 Lying on my bed at night  
 Sleep never comes to my eyes  
 Beyond all bearing is my lack of love  
 Madan is wearing me out  
 The naughty fellow and my naughty breasts  
 Burst at their ribbons  
 My body tingles  
 And despite myself my rapture comes.

## AGHAN

Pleasant is November. The fair lady  
 Sees the paddy all round  
 And writes to her lord  
 My husband left me  
 And went to another land  
 And he does not care for me any more  
 I was only twelve years old  
 When he had my marriage finished  
 And brought me here  
 Now in my full bloom  
 When I am like a pomegranate  
 My husband is a cloud in another land  
 Now when the lemons and oranges are ready  
 My husband forgets me  
 The garden is blossoming, O my heartless darling  
 And in it the bee hovers  
 Cannot your heart see  
 That the garden withers for want of you ? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Collected in the Sadr Subdivision of Patna district, Bihar, in 1940. For help in translation, I am much indebted to Rai Sahib Sadashiva Prasad.

# THE BLOOD GROUPS OF THE DOMS

## *A Criminal Tribe of the U. P.*

By D. N. MAJUMDAR

THE DOMS are scattered all over India. The U. P. Doms are divided into two branches, one settled, the other vagrant. Those who live in the cities or in their vicinity belong to the former section, while the nomadic Doms infest the eastern districts of the U. P. and Bihar. 'The nomadic Dom,' writes Sir William Crooke,<sup>1</sup> 'is a shameless vagrant, an eater of leavings and carrion, a beggar, a thief.' As nomadism has lost much of its appeal these days, even those nomadic tribes that lived by serving settled villagers as artisans, musicians, dancers, bards or genealogists find it extremely difficult to pull on and willingly or un-willingly some of these have been drawn into the ranks of criminal tribes.

The nomadic Dom has not shown his skill in any work, he roams in the jungle but has not learnt the ways of the fowler, or the bird-catcher, he is an indifferent fisherman, and an ill-equipped hunter; he, therefore, has accustomed himself to a diet which does not require much efforts to secure; carrion, vermin, leavings of other tribes, and not improperly he is compared to the washerman's donkey for which he has naturally developed an aversion. In recent years some of the nomadic Doms have settled down as scavengers or as workers in bamboo, and when they have been brought in contact with civilization, they have adopted occupations to which they have never been used to. The Gorakhpur settlement where the Doms have been confined for purposes of reclamation find them even good cultivators but like most of the criminal tribes they believe in little work and quick return, so that agriculture as a permanent means of livelihood has little appeal for them. All criminal tribes share in this attitude and they would rather work for less and get the reward immediately, than wait a week or a month and receive more for their work. The sugar crop must not remain for long in the field, and if they are not allowed to harvest it before the crop is fully mature, they would stealthily cut the canes and sell them for cash, so that by the time the harvesting of the crops starts their fields no longer possess

<sup>1</sup> W. CROOKE, *Tribes and Castes of the North, Western Provinces.*

anything of value. I do not know how far the authorities in charge of criminal tribes' settlements have realised this pattern of crime-culture. A re-orientation of the attitude of the criminal tribes is not difficult if solutions are devised to suit this ethnological trait.

In India, the raising of social status is a means to an end and every social group, tribe or caste has a mythical descent and a traditional past. Each tribe or caste memorises its pedigree and even the totemic tribes claim mythical parentage. Totems are transformed into eponyms to mark social ascent, and the tortoise totem finds its ancestor in the mythical saint Kashyap (tortoise), and the snake clan claims descent from Nagaraj, the King of snakes. The Doms, however despised and detested they may be, even if they are the lowest of all the social groups, as Crooke calls them, 'the true survival of the loathsome Chandala of Manu' have an ancestry which their tradition have carefully preserved and which today form the basis of their claim to higher social status. The Punjab tradition claims for them a Brahmin parentage while another popular tradition traces them from 'Raja Ben or Vena and one of their sub-clans is still known as 'Ben Bansi.'

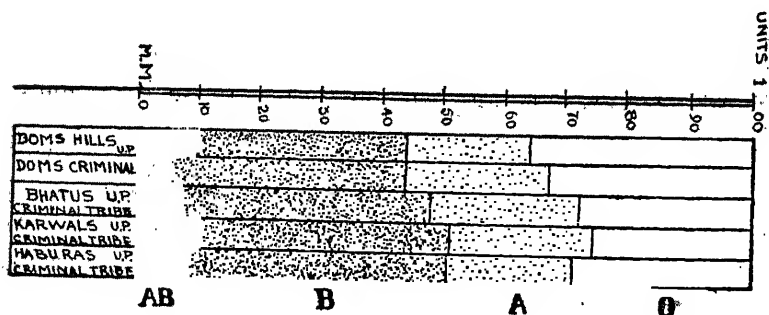
Regarding their racial origins, opinions are far from unanimous. Sir H. M. Elliot considers the Doms to be 'one of the original tribes of India': Risley traces them to the aboriginal stock. Dr. Caldwell<sup>1</sup> thinks that they are the surviving representations of an older, ruder, and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India. Some describe the Doms as 'a small and dark people, with long tresses of unkempt hair and the peculiar glassy eye of the non-Aryan autochthon.'<sup>2</sup> Sherring describes the Doms as dark complexioned, low of stature, and somewhat repulsive in appearance, they are readily distinguished from all the better castes of Hindus. Risley however recognised the appreciable varieties of the Dom physical type and traced them to its being widely diffused all over, and Dr. Wise could not find much similarity between the eastern Doms and the Munda speaking tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateau but he could neither affiliate them to the Aryan stock. 'The fact,' writes Risley, 'that for centuries they have

<sup>1</sup> *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 546, quoted by RISLEY, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces*, Vol. I, 401.

been condemned to the most menial duties, and have served as the helots of the entire village community would, of itself, be sufficient to break down whatever tribal spirit they may once have possessed and to obliterate all structural traces of their true origin.' The nature of the Dom's work, either as scavenger or as a 'provider' of light for the funeral pyres at the burning ghat, brings them in daily contact with people of other castes, and the lure of immediate reward has appealed to the women of the tribe, so that immorality as a profession of the women has had significant influence in shaping the physical features of their descendants. Thus the Dom today is a hybrid group. The hill Doms have mixed with the Khasas and other Indo-Aryan tribes that still find secure asylum in the recesses of hills and forests of the Himalayan region, while the Doms of the plains have assimilated features which belong to many of the strains that have contributed to the raciology of the plains.

In connection with the anthropometric survey of the people of the United Provinces, I measured about 200 Doms, partly in the Dom settlement at Gorakhpur and partly in Chakrata area, Dehradun district. Blood groups of more than 300 Doms were tested and the results are given below. About 180 samples were tested at Gorakhpur and about 125 in the Dehradun district. The testing sera were prepared at Lucknow by Dr. V. S. Mangalik, Pathologist, K. G.'s Medical College, from the author's blood which is B and from that of a student donor who offered his blood for the purpose and who belonged to group A. As all the laboratory paraphernalia were carried along, there was no necessity of improvising field techniques and the usual laboratory methods were followed. The



sera were tested against standard sera from the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, and the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. My grateful acknowledgments are due to Dr. V. S. Mangalik for the continued assistance I have been getting from him in my serological investigations.

While the tests were being done, a large incidence of B was noticed, and to be sure of the result, a number of people were pricked twice and examined, to test the accuracy of the result. The test sera were tested every morning by titrating against group AB and O blood cells. There was no difficulty in getting people to be pricked in the criminal tribe settlement at Gorakhpur, but the hill Dom samples could only be collected with very great difficulty, for at least 20 villages had to be visited for 125 bloods. As among the Karwals and the Bhatus, the criminal Doms of Gorakhpur, men, women and children, willingly submitted to the needle and were anxious to know their groups.

I do not think there exists any blood group data for the Doms, either from criminal tribes in settlements or from outside. Of the many groups tested by Malone and Lahiri<sup>1</sup> the Doms were not mentioned as one. The results are expected to throw some light on the racial affiliation of the tribe, of course, when compared along with other anthropometric characters.<sup>2</sup> The table below shows the percentage of blood groups in the samples examined.

TABLE ONE  
*Nos. and Percentages in Groups*

	O	A	B	AB	
No. 180	59	41	71	9	Samples from Gorakhpur.
Percentages.	32.8	22.8	39.4	5.0	

The samples contained 99 males and 81 females and the following table gives the percentage distribution of blood groups according to sex.

<sup>1</sup> *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 7, 1942, Article on 'Blood groups of Criminal Tribes in the U. P.' by D. N. MAJUMDAR.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. J. Med. Research*, XVI, 1928-29, p. 965.



Gorakhpur samples.

No. Percentages in groups and Frequencies of Genes involved.

	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Males 99 ..	29.9	25.2	38.3	7.0	17.5	25.8	54.7
Females 81 ..	37.0	20.0	40.7	2.5	11.9	25.8	60.8
Total Males & Females 180	32.8	22.8	39.4	4.4	15.1	25.6	57.3

The Doms of the Dehradun district show the following group percentages:—

Name of locality.	No.	Percentages in groups and Frequencies of Genes.						
		O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Jaunsar Bawar, Dehradun, Kalsi, and other places ..	125	36.0	20.0	33.8	10.2	16.4	25.1	60.0

A comparison of the Hill Dom data with those of the 'Criminal Doms of Gorakhpur shows some apparently significant difference. The Hill Doms possess higher O than the Criminal Doms. Though the women among the latter show a higher O concentration, 37 p.c. against 36 p.c. of the former. Both the criminal Doms, male and female groups, show a high percentage of B—the males 38.3 p.c., females 40.7 p.c., but the corresponding B among the hill Doms is only 33.8 p.c. If B and AB are taken into consideration, the difference between the two Dom groups disappears. This high B among the criminal tribes may indicate 'inbreeding condition' or a rapid rate of frequency of B mutation or mixture with a people with high B concentration. As in the case of Bhatus, and the Karwals, two other criminal tribes we have examined,<sup>1</sup> the Criminal Doms show a high B concentration—which distinguishes them from the Doms of other areas, particularly the hill Doms, and also from the normal population in the neighbourhood. Before we get data from the many other criminal tribes in these Provinces, we are not in a position to interpret the result.

<sup>1</sup> *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 7, 1942.

One interesting fact was discovered in the blood group tests among the criminal Doms of Gorakhpur where whole families were examined in many cases. A large number of children, whom from the physical features we could not affiliate to their parents, were tested against their parents' groups. Serological tests confirmed our suspicions in the test of five out of nine. The parents' children combination of blood groups were against the known mechanism of inheritance in five cases and I did not want to push this enquiry further for obvious reasons. Later on I found that the children concerned were already subjects of gossip in the settlement though no stigma attached to them on this account.

## THE ETHNOLOGY OF CENTRAL ASIA AND ITS BEARING ON INDIA

By BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA

IN OUR former articles we have spoken about the peoples of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and of the tribes of the Hindukush region. But unless we are clear about the ethnology of Central Asia and of the Western part of Asia we shall not be able to understand the ethnology of India. Hence, we must apply ourselves here first to the anthropology of Central Asia. The population of Central Asia is shifting, even the name of this region of Asia has been changed in historical periods. To the ancient Persians of the Achaemenidan period it was the land of the Sakas, *i.e.*, nomadic Iranian-speaking people. They even called these nomads who lived outside Iran as the *Dahas*,<sup>1</sup> later on, when the Yue-chi coming from the east became supreme in this part of central Asia, the eastern part of it came to be known as Toxristan, and in Sanskrit the people were called as Tukhara or Tushara. From that time on till the invasion of the Turks from the east, this region retained this name. Even at the time of Mahmud of Gazni, this name was retained; he used to send Indian soldiers of his army to fight his Toxri enemies. Till the fifteenth century after Christ, this people

<sup>1</sup> According to some Orientalists the Vedic name of the *Dasyu* and *Dasa* tribes is derived from the name of the *Dahas*. They say that the Vedic Aryans brought this term with them to India. *Vide* SUMMER, *Alt-Indisches Leben*.

*i.e.*, the Toxri, retained their separate existence and culture in Eastern Turkistan.<sup>1</sup> But the repeated invasion of the Moslem Arabs from Persia, and the Mohammedanization of the Turks brought a convulsion in the midst of the people of Central Asia. The people were Mohammedanized and Turkified, and the old civilization was completely destroyed. Then came the terrible invasion of Zenghis Khan the Mongol, from the devastations of which the Moslem world has not yet been able to recover. Lastly comes the Russian Conquest, which at present is working as a leaven in the minds of the people of this region. All these invasions and migrations have left their imprints in this part of Asia.

Till lately, it has been the fashion to call every man hailing from this region as a Turk, *i.e.*, as belonging to the Tartaric race. In mediaeval India it was in vogue to call every man of this part of Asia as 'Turushka.' Then the European scholars of the beginning of the 19th Century A.D. repeated the same mistake. To them, the Scythians, the Yue-chi, the historical Turks, the Moghuls, were all labelled as Turks, and they investigated the ethnology of India in this light. Hence they alleged to find out the Scythians in the Rajputs, the Yue-chi (they pronounced it as Ye-tha) in the Jats, the Khazars in the Gujars. And this mistake has taken its hold in the Indian mind who parrot-like repeat it as Gospel-truth.

In order to be clear about the racial composition of the peoples of Central Asia, we must take the help of Physical Anthropology and Archaeology. Of course very little has been investigated in these matters, but what has been already done is summarized here. With the help of Dr. Pumpelly's 'Explorations in Turkestan' carried on in Anau where several cities built on the same site probably in the Third Millenium B.C. have been discovered, the archaeologists and the anthropologists have surmised that of the civilization that has been discovered at this site, the oldest layer contained neolithic remains and this civilization had connections with the prehistoric civilization of Koban, Terek and Kuban in Asia Minor. Amongst the finds of Anau, Prof. Sergi<sup>2</sup> has discovered jar-burial

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhistic remains of art and painting that have been discovered at Turfan (Eastern Turkestan) have been brought to the Ethnological Museum of Berlin and to some other Museums of Europe.

<sup>2</sup> SERGI in Pumpelly's *Explorations in Turkestan*, Carnegie Publications, No. 73.

of an infant, and the skulls of some infants discovered along with it, have been labelled by the same anthropologist as belonging to long-skulled type. And he identifies them as belonging to the Mediterranean variety of man. Thus in the dim prehistoric period, we find the long-skulled Mediterranean race as peopling this region of Central Asia. Again this jar-burial of the infants has its affinity with some of the ancient Mediterraneans, as the Minoans<sup>1</sup> and the Athenians.<sup>2</sup> Further, we have the same custom in some parts of India where the dead bodies of the infants of Hindu parentage up to the age of six are either interred in the ground or put in a jar and buried underground as the Hindu custom is not to burn the dead body of an infant.

Then we come to the historical period of Asia. The Persians called the nomads living in this region as the Sacas and by the Greeks as the Scythians. As regards the skulls of the primitive Scythians E. H. Minns says, 'There are considerable variety among individuals who used objects of defined Scythic types. The last known case is that of the five skulls found in Chemtombyk and discussed by K. E. Von Baer in A. S. H. Of these, two were short and two were long and one was intermediate. So too some of the skulls illustrated by Count Bobrinskoj in *Smêla* slightly suggest Mongolian forms, others are purely European (Sm II b.l. xxvii-xxx). To this same conclusion came Prof. Anatole Bogdanov (Congress International d'Archaeologie Prehistorique et d'Anthropologie, II, 1895, p 5) who says that in Scythic tombs the skulls are mostly long though occasionally Mongoloid, and notes a general tendency towards brachycephaly during the Scythic period.'<sup>3</sup> Thus, from the standpoint of Anthropology we find that the ancient Scythians were of mixed physical characteristics. But as regards their language the philologists agree that they spoke the Iranian language.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the civilized and settled people of Persia called the nomadic Iranians as Sacas as in Vedic literature, the nomadic people not observing the rites of Brahmanical orthodoxy were called as *Vratyas*.

<sup>1</sup> BURROUGHS, *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> The writer was an eye-witness in 1914 of the disinternment of the urn-burial of a child during the excavation of an ancient site in Athens.

<sup>3</sup> G. NAGY, *The Nationality of the Scyths*; E. H. MINNS, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XVII, p. 565, 1929.

As regards other prehistoric skulls found in this region, Ivanovski (1890) has described a few skulls supposed to be dated from the first or second century B.C. from near Issikul in Western Tian-Shan which are primarily broad-skulled.

Then we come to the historical people of Toxristan. The German explorers who went to Turfan (Eastern Turkestan now Sinkiang) to find out the remains of the Buddhistic people living in this region have brought a few skulls found along with the other archeological discoveries. The skulls have been examined by the late Prof. H. Klaatsch of Breslau University. He said, 'The rich treasures of passionate representation show us in their features that evidently they belong to a mixed population. By the side of clearly Mongoloid traits, characteristics of pleasing, blond-haired men,<sup>1</sup> with big noses and gloomy expression of the eyes are to be seen..... The morphological analysis of the Turfan materials would recognize different elements which appear partly in tolerable condition, partly mixed with each other.' Finally he said, 'what is informed to me from the archaeological side on the union of elements to a people finds a clear corroboration in the clearly mixed characters that are to be found in the majority of the Turfan skulls.'<sup>2</sup> Thus we see that the reports of the skull examinations of the Scythians and the Yue-chi speak of them as peoples of mixed characteristics.

But as regards the language of the Toxri people the strange phenomenon is discovered that the people spoke an Indo-European language belonging to the centum group, *i.e.*, the group of languages to which the Greek, Latin, Celtic and Teutonic languages belong ! This has led to the surmise amongst the protagonists of Nordicism that the Toxri were a Nordic, *i.e.*, Germanic people who have migrated to the Chinese border in some remote antiquity. But later investigations have shown that though the basis of the Toxri language belonged to the centum group, yet it was a highly mixed one.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The paintings preserved in Berlin Ethnological Museum show the Yue-chi to be of robust body with big aquiline nose, grey eyes but of Mongolian cast and red beard. Compare the description of Kala-Javana in Garga-Samhita (Golak Khanda) where he is described as of red beard.

<sup>2</sup> KHAATSCH, *Morphologische, Studien zur Rassen Diagnostik der Turfan Schedel*, pp. 1-47.

<sup>3</sup> FEIST, *Indo-Germanen und Germanen*.

As regards the other information of this people the investigations show that the ruling class was called *Arsi* (in Sanskrit books they were called *Risik*),<sup>1</sup> and in religion they belonged to the Mahayana branch of Buddhism. As this region was the meeting ground of Indian, Chinese and Perso-hellenistic cultures, the Toxristanis became a highly cultured people. In this region various languages have been discovered, notably amongst which was an Indian one which was spoken at Khotan. Even a page of Sanskrit *Katantra Vyakarana* has been discovered by the German explorers.<sup>2</sup> Further, Manichaeism, Christianity, were prevalent in this region. Even the Jews were living amongst them (they still live in Russian Central Asia). The archaeological remains prove them to have reached a high standard of technique of fine arts.<sup>3</sup> Again from the Indian books we read that Emperor Asoka banished those rebels who put out the eyes of his son Kunala to Central Asia,<sup>4</sup> and in Yuan Chwang's<sup>5</sup> travels we find men of Sakya family ruling in some of those parts in the seventh century after Christ. Thus there has been an Indian colony in this part of Asia in ancient times<sup>6</sup>.

Regarding this interesting highly cultured people of Eastern Turkestan, we must make further ethnological enquiries. The orientalist Scholars of Europe are still making further investigations from the manuscripts that have been discovered at Turfan and some day a new light will be thrown over the lost culture of Central Asia and on the Lamaistic religion of Tibet.

It has already been said that the Toxri language belongs to the West-European group of Indo-European languages. This again, is divided into Tocharish A and Tocharish B. A few words may be illustrated here: Tocharish A=Kaent, B=Kaente-100: Latin centum=100, Greek e'xato'n=100, while old Indian is satam=100. Again in Tocharish B laks (salmon fish) is in German lacks (salmon fish.) This similarity has given rise to the theory amongst some

<sup>1</sup> Vide JAYACHANDRA NARONG, *Varatiya Jtihsaki Ruprekha*, Vol. II, (in Hindi).

<sup>2</sup> It is now lying in the Ethnological Museum at Berlin. Its script resembles very much like Bengalee.

<sup>3</sup> Vide the publications of Prof. Gruenwede of Berlin.

<sup>4</sup> JAYACHANDRA NARONG, *Varatiya Jtihsaki Ruprekha*, Vol. II, pp. 132-561.

<sup>5</sup> Yuan-chwang's travels, translated by Watters, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> JAYACHANDRA NARONG, *ibid*.

German Scholars like Pokorny and F. W. K. Mueller that as salmon fish is to be found in the rivers that empty themselves in the North Sea, the Tocharians must have come from Central or North Europe to Central Asia across the Carpathians. But at the same time it must be said that Tocharish language contains a considerable portion of words of non-Indo-European origin.<sup>1</sup> Of course this is to be found in all the Indo-European languages. This has given rise to the surmise that the Tocharians must have taken foreign blood in them through their long wanderings till they settled in the desert of Taklamakan. The Toxristanis or Tocharians (as named by the Orientalists) first appeared in Chinese history during the reign of the Wei dynasty in six hundred A.D.<sup>2</sup> They were called in Chinese Tu-huc-lo (korean To-ho-ra, Japanese To-ka-ra). Their country Tocharistan lay in the west, north of Tarim on Tian-shan mountains, and in the neighbourhood where the European investigators have discovered the Tocharish manuscripts. But the old Toxristan or Tocharistan lay in the south of Tarim and east of Khotan which was crossed by the Chinese traveller Yuan-chwang. He reported in his Si-jue-ki (diary report) that this country has been deserted long ago and the desert has encroached on the walls of the cities.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps they left this country many hundred years before on account of the drying up of the water in the land. They went northwards, and in the old Chinese books they were mentioned with the Ta-hia or Ta-ha. These *Tahia*, according to the Chinese reports, were a timid, commercial people living under their city princes. In the North of East Turkestan they drove away an older population of the name of Kusi or Kusu<sup>4</sup>.

Thus we have followed the wandering of a layer of the Toxri or Tocharian people. Now, we must find the origin about their ruling class, the Arsi, who probably were called by Strabo the ancient Greek historian as Asiani or Asii. According to some German scholars they formed the ruling Indo-European caste of the Tocharian people. For a long time, the Toxri were identified

<sup>1</sup> FEIST, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> J. MARQUART, *Eranshahr*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> O. FRANCKE, *Zur Kenntnis der Tuerkvoelker und Skythen Zentralasiens* p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> J. MARQUART, *Voelkstum der Romanen*, p. 64 f.

with the Yue-chi of the old Chinese annals. In *Schi-ki*<sup>1</sup> (ch. 123) it is mentioned: The Hiung-nu (Hun) prince Moduk (or Maktur) informed the Chinese emperor in 176 B.C. that he had destroyed the Yue-chi. As the Hun prince, Lau-Schang, had killed the king of the Yue-chi, he made a drinking bowl out of his skull. In the beginning the Yue-chi lived between the Tun-huang and the Ki-lien mountains on the western border of China. After they were defeated by the Hiung-nu, they went beyond Ferghana (Russian Turkestan). In the west they defeated the Tahia and made them their subjects. From that time they lived in the north of the Oxus river and established their court there. A portion of them, small in number, that could not wander farther, settled down in the region of the K'iang in the southern mountain and were called the small 'Yue-chi.' These people lived with the Tibetan tribes on the mountains from the south of Tun-huang stretching to the Pamir. They might have established the old Tochara (Toxristan) kingdom.<sup>2</sup> According to Vincent Smith and Sten Konow it is the little Yue-chi who established their capital Purushapura in Gandhara.<sup>3</sup>

But if, as according to some scholars, the Tocharians be identified with the Tahia people conquered by the Yue-chi, then another ethnic relation must be found for the Yue-chi<sup>4</sup>. The philologists say that according to to-day's Peking pronunciation the name sounds Yue-chi, but 2000 years ago it had another pronunciation. J. Marquart accepts the oldest pronunciation to be Get-si or Goat-si, and sees in it a variant of the name Asioi of Strabo<sup>5</sup> and the Asian of Pompeius Trogus. O. Francke, in consideration of the Japanese Get-su (Gwat-su) has set up an old pronunciation as Nguet-si, and sees in the first portion of the word the name of a people as Juet, Get-Goth, *i.e.*, the Massagetes of classical tradition.<sup>6</sup> Thus Yue-chi would be the analogous word with the Greek nomenclature Scythian. It means a vogue naming of the Central Asiatic hordes. But F. W. K. Mueller draws from the newly discovered name of Arsi deciphered by Prof. Sieg the oldest pronunciation

<sup>1</sup> Translated by F. W. K. MUELLER, *Toxri und Kuisan* p. 571.

<sup>2-3</sup> FEIST, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> SMITH EHI<sup>4</sup>, 264; Konow Corpus II, I, lxxvi

<sup>5</sup> *Eranshahr*, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> O. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, p. 23 f.



of the Chinese letter sign which sounds to day as Yue-chi, and Otto Francke, from the standpoint of Chinese sound physiology agrees with the equalization of Yue-tchi=Arsi.<sup>1</sup> If we take this agreement of the Sinologists that Yue-tchi and Arsi be the same, then it gives us a new perspective to clear the Tocharian problem and Indo-European problem, as well as a part of the Indian ethnological problem. Now comes the relation between Toxri and Kuisan. The Sinologist Mueller says that the language which the ancient Turks (Uigurs) called Toxri is nowadays named by the orientalists as Tocharish A<sup>2</sup>. As regards the Kuisan, the Uigar Colophon No. III discovered in Turfan while speaking about the book *Dasakarmabuddha avadanamala* says: 'From the Kuisan language into Tocharish language—translated in Turkish'.... Thereby it proves the context of the second page of the book that it has come from the Kuisan frontier to Tocharistan and then to the Turks."<sup>3</sup> Here a clear distinction is made between the Tocharians and the Kui-sans or Kushans as known in India. Mueller says by Kuisan the country of the Kusans is meant, i.e., the Gandhara region or Cabul valley.<sup>4</sup> Sten Konow also suggests the identification of Keui-shuang or Kushan principality with Gandhara<sup>5</sup>. Thus we see that the Huns drove away the Yue-tschi or the Yue-chi from the western border of China who ultimately settled in Fergaunah and who in turn conquered the Ta-hia who are the Tocharians. A small portion of the Yue-chi settled in the region of K'iang and they were called the small Yue-chi. It may be that they formed the old kingdom of Tocharistan. Further, we find that the Kushans lived in Gandhara or Cabul valley. These Kuisans or Kushans known as Ku<sup>3</sup>si or Ku<sup>3</sup>su<sup>6</sup> or Kushans were driven away by the Ta-hia or Tochara people from the north of East Turkestan.<sup>7</sup> And those Kushans being driven away from their original seat burst forth in north-western India. Thus horde after horde being pressed from behind have burst forth either in the N. W. Indian frontier or through Khorasan to Persia or have marched to Europe.

<sup>1</sup> FEIST, op. cit. p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> to <sup>4</sup> MUELLER, *Toxri und Kuisan*, pp. 575, 584.

<sup>5</sup> STEN KONOW, *EP*, Ind. xxi, 258.

<sup>6</sup> Nothing is yet definitely known about this Kusi (Kusu) people. Compare MARQUART, *Volkstum der Komanen*. Does this name re-echo in Kusadwipa of the Puranas like Sakadwipa?

<sup>7</sup> I. MARQUART, op. cit. p. 64 f.

Thus the rapid impact of ethnological groups one after another on the Indian border did confuse the ancient Indian mind and it was no wonder that in the latter period all the central Asiatic hordes were labelled 'Turuskas.'

As a side issue of these news, the question has been raised as to the racial origin of those grey-eyed, red-bearded Yue-chi or Arsi. Some European scholars would fain discover in Wusuns<sup>1</sup> of Central Asia mentioned in Chinese annals as Nordic blondes from North Europe, and they would connect them with the Yue-chi. But Prof. Charpentier of Upsala University would connect them with the broad-skulled Celts who went there as a result of Gallic invasion and Pokorny would connect them with the Thracian-Phrygian people<sup>2</sup>. But the question arises that history never records the migrations of a European people to Central Asia. On the contrary streams of migrations and invasions have gone out of Asia to Europe. The historian Eduard Meyer, the anthropologist Eickstedt and the philologist Feist are agreed on this point<sup>3</sup>. Naturally the question comes from where has the blonde element come into Central Asia? Yuan-chwang has reported in his book that he has found grey-eyed people in Central Asia. Present-day anthropologists report that blue-eyed, grey-eyed peoples of European cast of face are to be found in this region of Central Asia. Indeed Mr. Schwarz a German Enthologist has described the Persian-speaking people of this region to have the above mentioned characteristics. On this ground he has called Central Asia the cradle of the Aryans.<sup>4</sup>

Again various investigators like Ujvalfy, Aurel Stein and others have found out that persons with light hair and eyes are to be found all over Inner or Central Asia, and these characteristics

<sup>1</sup> O. Francke says that the Usuns were not blondes. The Chinese did not describe them to be blue eyed and blonde-haired people (*vide Biography of Chang Vhien din T'Sien Hanch*, Vol.v. 61 f.).

<sup>2</sup> J. CHARPENTIER in *F. D. M. G.*, Vol. lxxi, p. 347 f, quoted by Feist. He further says that the Pamir tribes as investigated by the Russian anthropologists are of 'Alpine type,' p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> MAYER, *Geschichtedes Alterthums*, pp. 864-890; EICKSTEDT, *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit*, pp. 267-281; FEIST, *Indo-Germanen und Germanen*, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> F. O. SCHWARZ, "*Turkesten*," *die wiege der Indo-germanen voelker*, 1900.

are to be found also amongst some of the Tartar tribe of Siberia. The investigations of Jochelson-Brodsky carried on after the last world war have shown that a Tartar tribe living in S. W. Siberia are blondes. It is said that the Yenussi Tartars are blondes *i.e.*, people with ruddy complexions, extremely light-coloured hair and blue eyes. According to Deniker<sup>1</sup> the earliest population of Siberia was made of long-skulled people with European faces. This has led anthropologists like Eickshtedt and Guiffrida-Ruggeri to surmise that blonde type of man has originated in N. W. Asia.<sup>2</sup> The last mentioned author says 'The presence of an European face has been established among the present brachycephals of the Pamir and in the natives still remaining in the desert of Takla-Makan.'<sup>3</sup>

Further he says, 'Looking at these things without prejudice, one may add, that Leucodermic Asia is predominantly (and perhaps it was more so in ancient time than now) Aryan like Europe.'<sup>4</sup>

Thus it is clear that the basis of the ancient ethnology of Central Asia was in ancient time Indo-European. Indeed Joyce has said that the basic race of Takla-Makan (Eastern Turkestan) is yet Iranic. Then came the invasion of the Tartaric peoples from the East. The Uigur Turks were the first to Turkify this part of Asia. Then came the invasion of the Mohammedan Arabs who converted the Turks. As a result, the old people of Hellenistic-Indian civilization and of Aryan speech were swept away. Finally the invasion of Genghiz Khan made a wilderness of this country.

In resumé, it is to be said that the majority of the ethnologists agree that this part of Asia was the cradle of the people speaking the Indo-European or Aryan language.<sup>5</sup> Also we have seen that the oldest inhabitants were long-skulled people, and that broad-skulled people encroached upon this land from the East<sup>6</sup>. To day we have in this part of Asia a majority of broad-skulled people who in turn are divided into broad-skulled Iranians and broad-skulled Turcomans or Turkish people.<sup>7</sup> Yet the dolichoid element is present

<sup>1</sup> DENIKER, *Les Races et les Peuples de la Terre*, p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> EICKSTEDT, *op. cit.*, GUIFFRIDA-RUGGERI, *The First Outline of a Systematic Anthropology*, translated by H. Chakladar.

<sup>3</sup> & <sup>4</sup> GUIFFRIDA-RUGGERI, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35, *ibid.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> W. KOEPPERS, *die Indo-germanen frage im Lichte der historischen Voelkerkunde* in 'Anthropos.' Bk. 30, 1935.

<sup>6</sup> Vide DIXON, *Racial History of Man*, pp. 329-330.

<sup>7</sup> RIPLEY, *Races of Europe*.

amongst the present day Iranian-speaking Tajiks as measured by Ujvalfy and Fidchenko.<sup>1</sup> But the Turkish element is dominant in Central Asia since the time of the Uigur Turks.

Finally, it is to be mentioned here that the talk about the Central Asiatic origins of the Rajputs, the Gujars and the Jats find no support from anthropology. Since the time of Tod the mistake has been made. The grey-eyed, red-bearded ruling class of the Tocharians called Arsi or Yue-chi were not the forbears of the dark Jats. We have seen above how the mistake about the pronunciation of the name has been made. The Jats are not Arsi, neither are the long-skulled, narrow-nosed brown-skinned Gujars the descendants of the Tartar Khazars, nor are the Rajputs of Saka descent.<sup>2</sup> Their anthropological derivations are to be sought in India itself. Of course those of the Central Asiatic hordes that settled in India were mixed up with the Hindu population. But their numbers comparatively were few. Indeed the Sakas and the Kushans settled in Sakastana (Seistan) and Afghanistan. The features of some of the present-day Afghans betray the Scythian and Kushan physiognomy. Again, Ptolemy has spoken about a section of the Sakas as Balytoi, and it is surmised that the Baltis of Baltistan are the same people.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> UJTALVY, "*Les Aryens au Nord et au Sudder Hindoukoush*"; BODGANOFF, *Notes Anthrometriques sur les Indigines du Turkisten L'Anthropologie*. Bk. II, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* B. N. DATTA, 'The Rise of the Rajputs' in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXVII, 1941, Part I.

<sup>3</sup> HADDON, *Races of Man*, pp. 114-15.

## COMMUNICATIONS

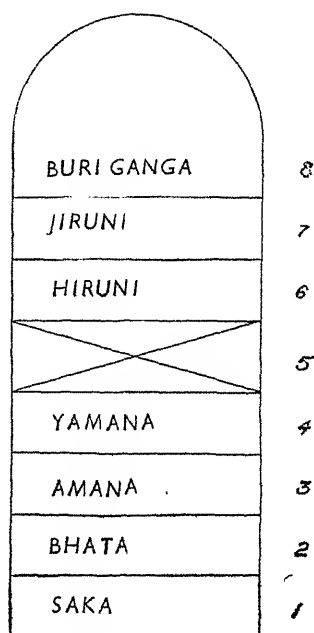
### *The Boiled Rice and Vegetable Game*

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE OBJECT of this short note is to describe a type of game called *śāka-bhāta-khelā* in Bengali (*i.e.*, 'the game of boiled rice and vegetables') and not noticed previously by any scholar. It is generally played on the roof of a house or in any place where a figure like the accompanying diagram can be drawn by a charcoal or a white chalk or a brickbat. The diagram is generally 18 ft. long and 4 ft. broad. It is generally played by children who are between 6 and 12 years in age. It may be played by any number of children. The rule of the game is as follows. Each player takes a charcoal or a brickbat as the game-piece. He stands just outside the rectangular court called *śāka* raising one of his legs and throws his game-piece into the rectangular court called *śāka* in such a manner that it does not touch any line forming this rectangular court. Then he enters into that court in that posture, takes the game-piece with the right hand and comes back outside the court where he can lower down the raised leg for the time being. This rule is followed in the case of all the courts except three whose characteristics will be mentioned later. The game proceeds on in the above-mentioned way. But if any player either throws the game-piece without raising one of his legs or throws the game-piece in such a way that it touches any line of the whole figure or throws the game-piece in a wrong court or does not jump from the court called *yāmana* to the court called *hiruni* or does not take rest for some time, *i.e.*, lower down the raised leg in the court called *jiruni* or 'does not take bath,' *i.e.*, behave in such a manner as if taking bath in the river, in the court called *Buri Ganga*, then he is called *mora* (dead) *i.e.*, out. If he is *mora*, in one of the above-mentioned ways, then the player who is next in order of succession begins to play. Here it should be pointed out that this system of succession is made before the actual game commences. If he also becomes *mora*, then the player who is next in order of succession begins to play. In this way the turn comes to the player who was *mora* at first and who now throws the game-piece into the court where he was *mora* before. In this way the player who

can go to the court No. 8 and returns successfully becomes the winner. Before the commencement of the game it is settled among the players that the player who can win a fixed number of games will be the winner.

The peculiarity of the courts Nos. 5 and 7 should be mentioned. Unlike other courts, the court No. 5 does not bear any inscription and has two vertical lines drawn from two angular points of one side towards the opposite two angular points on the other side cutting each other in the centre. This court, though not inscribed,



is known to all players as *brāhmaṇa* (Brahmin) and these two vertical lines are considered as the *paitā* in East Bengal dialect, i.e., *upavīta* or the sacred thread of a *brāhmaṇa* (Brahmin). As a *brāhmaṇa* is worthy of veneration and consequently should not be touched by feet, this court should not be entered but jumped over. Regarding this court some interesting remarks may be made. First, a *brāhmaṇa* is represented in a symbolic way. Secondly, the representation of an *upavīta* by two lines is highly interesting. Nowadays in Bengal we find the *brāhmaṇa* wearing only one sacred

thread which proceeds from the right shoulder to the left part of the waist. If another sacred thread is put on from the left shoulder to the right part of the waist, then the arrangement of the sacred thread looks exactly like that represented in the court No. 5. It is worth studying whether there is any religious injunction in India by which a *brāhmaṇa* should wear two sacred threads. Thirdly, nowadays in Bengal it is sacrilegious to jump over or to touch a *brāhmaṇa* with feet; but curiously enough we find here that to touch a *brāhmaṇa* with feet is a sin but to jump over him is not at all a sin but rather a good process of crossing a *brāhmaṇa* if he falls in the way. Unlike in the courts Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8, in the court No. 7 the player can take a 'rest,'<sup>1</sup> i.e., he can lower down his raised right leg for some time; but when he will take up the gamepiece, he must raise his right leg.

Let us now take into consideration the words used to indicate these courts. There are three words, viz., *śāka*, *bhāta* and *āmana* which are connected with the flora of Bengal. *Śāka* means generally the eatable creepers of Bengal, *bhāta*, boiled rice and *āmana*, a kind of Bengal rice harvested in the *hemanta* *rtu*. The term *yāmana* and *hiruni* cannot be traced out. The term *jiruni* has already been explained. The term *Buri Ganga* which is used here is nothing but the name of the same river which is still flowing in Dacca district. Regarding this river Allen observes, 'The deterioration of the Dhaleswari is especially unfortunate as the city of Dacca is dependent for its water-communications on one of its offshoots, the Buri Ganga. This is a river about twenty-six miles in length which takes off from the parent stream a little below Sabhar and rejoins at Baktatali a little above Taltala. Of recent years this river like the Dhaleswari has been silting up at the source and considerable dredging operations have been undertaken with the object of deepening the intake. It is encouraging to learn from a letter from Mr. John Taylor in 1800 A.D. that in 1645 A.D. the Buri Ganga was so much smaller than it was in his day that it was bridged opposite Dacca. In the rains the Buri Ganga is open throughout its length to boats of considerable size, but in the dry weather even small steam-launch cannot come up as far

<sup>1</sup> The term *jiruni* is obviously derived from either the Bengali word *jirāna*- (noun) meaning taking rest or *jirāno*—(verb) meaning to take rest. (*Bamla Bhāṣhāra Abhidhāna*, by JNANENDRA MOHANA DASA, p. 634).

as Dacca.<sup>1</sup> From the term Buri Ganga it appears that this game in its present form probably originated in Dacca district in East Bengal and more particularly in the region between Sabhar and Baktatali.

Regarding the antiquity of this game nothing can be definitely said. It is from the antiquity of the Buri Ganga and the philological consideration that we may come to some conclusion regarding this point. As we understand from Allen's account, the year 1645 A.D. should be probably taken as the earliest year in which the Buri Ganga has been referred to in the literary source. It seems that the game in the present form was invented in the latter part of the eighteenth or the earlier part of the nineteenth century A.D.

This game seems to symbolise the forward march of a pilgrim to the Buri Ganga where some religious festival is probably celebrated every year on some occasion.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

ARDESHIR FRAMJI KHABARDAR, GUJARATI KAVITANT  
RACHANAKALA

The Technique of Gujarati Poetry (University of Bombay.  
Re. 1.)

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The author of this thoughtful and nicely got up volume in Gujarati is an eminent Parsi who occupies the unique position of the working President of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, the highest literary honour that a Gujarati writer can aspire to. Mr. Khabardar, like the poet Tagore, cannot be considered a direct product of University education; he is a self-made man in every sense of the term. Educated at home in Daman, with inborn tendencies of a poet, he struggled by himself not only with the arts of prosody and poetics in English and Gujarati, but also secured

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteer*,—Dacca, by B. C. ALLEN, p. 6.



an intimate knowledge of the classical literary Gujarati, which by itself presents difficulties to many a Parsi writer. Whatever differences one may have with Mr. Khabardar regarding his theories about the form and spirit of poetry, there is no doubt about the depth of his knowledge of the ancient and modern forms of Gujarati poetry or about the diction and the style of his literary work either in prose or in poetry. The present volume would do great credit to any Hindu author, and it would have been difficult to write in purer and more elegant style. It is a hopeful sign of the synthesis of the national life that is taking place at the present time that the Parsis—some of whom had once founded a separate Parsi Lekhak Mandal—have now come to recognise the fundamental unity of the Gujarati language as a vehicle for the expression of their most cherished and cultured emotions. While the poems of some of the older Parsi poets—Malabari, Mansukh, Jamshedji Petit, Sorab Palamkot, Vicaji, etc.—possessed a flavour peculiar to the Parsi dialect, those of Khabardar and Jehangir Desai show such a complete mastery over Gujarati language, such a complete command of the technique, the vocabulary, the idiom and the cadence that it is hardly possible to distinguish the latter from ordinary Gujarati poets. One must emphasise this side of the evolution of Gujarati literature, for the contribution of the Parsis to the cultural life of Gujarat should not be allowed to be neglected any longer, particularly in view of their magnificent contribution to the material progress and prosperity of the province. The sparkling sense of humour which characterises ordinary conversation among Parsis is reflected in Khabardar's famous parodies, which form his unique contribution and which will long remain unsurpassed. Mr. Khabardar writes frequently in English and his book of English poems 'Silken Tassels' does not contain all that he has written in English.

Mr. Khabardar divides his lectures under five headings. The first one is entitled 'Origin of Poetry and the Art of Composition of Poetry' in which he explains the first principles of the sciences of prosody and poetics as known in English, Sanskrit and Gujarati. The second lecture covers 'The Evolution of Metre in Ancient and Modern Gujarati,' and is a masterly description of the art of metric composition in Gujarati through the ages. It incidentally gives a description of the 25 metres composed by the author.

The third lecture gives a critical examination of the manner in which the Gazal, the Ode and the Sonnet have been adapted from the Persian and English, and shows his wide knowledge, extensive reading and deep insight. In his fourth address 'On Experiments and Researches on Blank Verse' the author gives a full description of his own contribution to the art of versification in Gujarati and strongly criticises those from whom he differs. It is, however, in the last lecture on 'Structure of Poetry and Language' that the poet and critic shines at his best.

The Anthropologist will be keenly interested in the hypothesis of the author that poetry should not be isolated from music and metre. One cannot but support the experience of the author that the best poetical thoughts and expressions come during the humming of an appropriate tune. The origin of poetry can be traced to the folk songs and folk dances of the primitive people and seldom is primitive poetry isolated from music. Mr. Khabardar lays great stress on these formal aspects of the poet's technique and has no patience with poets who take liberties with the form either of the language or verse. He thinks that all poetry is an expression of the musical talent in man, and the rules of music, prosody and poetics should be rigidly followed. He quotes with approval the famous dictum of Palgrave that "passion, colour and originality cannot atone for serious imperfections in clearness, unity or truth." The author believes that the soul of poetry cannot function except in a perfect and harmonious body. In eloquent words, he advises with sincere fervour that the poet should not only look to the colour and the pattern of the cloth but should also attend to its texture and insist on the purity and evenness of each fibre, closeness of the web, and work on every detail that makes for classical perfection.

P. G. SHAH.

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PROJESH BANERJI, DANCE OF INDIA (KITABISTAN RS. 5-8)

IN SPITE of the recent revival of interest in Indian classical and folk dancing and the development of modern forms, no systematic survey of the Indian dance has yet been written. Mr. Projesh

Banerji in his book *Dance of India* endeavours to supply this need. He holds that the correct path of revival lies in a fusion of originality with an understanding of the classical dance and to further this thesis he first summarises the origin, history, fundamental classification and aesthetic basis of the classical dance and then proceeds to criticise the various schools and types of modern dance and discusses their music, dress and problems of production.

Much of the first part of the book is successful. Mr. Banerji gives a neat concise account of classical dancing, and the section on postures and gestures, especially the chapter on Mudra, together with the illustrations in the appendix is most valuable. It is precisely in this language of gesture that the importance of Indian classical dancing lies.

Unfortunately much of the second part of the book is less successful. The analysis of modern schools is superficial while the chapter on folk dancing, in particular, is so incomplete as to be almost valueless. If Mr. Banerji knew so little about this subject it would have been better if he had omitted the whole chapter. The facts are inaccurate and the dancing of whole provinces, to which a book could well be devoted, is dismissed in a few sentences. It is obvious that Mr. Banerji has never heard of books such as 'The Oraons' by Sarat Chandra Roy, 'The Baiga' by Verrier Elwin or 'The Maria Gonds of Bastar' by W. V. Grigson. In the province of Bihar, for example, where the whole of the aboriginal population dances, Uraons, Mundas, Hos, Kharias, Asurs, Agarias and Santals, the folk dancing is dismissed with a misleading reference to the 'courtship dances' of the Santals, and a reference to 'dances de divertisement' which so far as I know have never been seen in Bihar since Coomaraswamy described them in 'The Encyclopedia Britannica.'

These weaknesses mar what would otherwise have been a useful survey of the Indian dance.

MILDRED ARCHER.

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<sup>1</sup> With Ramesh Chandra Roy.

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*Abbreviations.*

- JBORS. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.  
 MII. Man in India.  
 NR. The New Review.  
 JBHU. Journal of the Benares Hindu University.  
 JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

W. G. ARCHER.





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